An Appreciation of Iqbal's Thought And Art

Dr. A. SHAKOOR AHSAN

RCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

An
Appreciation of
Iqbal's Thought And Art

An
Appreciation of
Iqbal's Thought And Art

By

Dr. A. SHAKOOR AHSAN

Director, Research Society of Pakistan
and
Professor Emeritus University of the Punjab

RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

University of the Punjab
LAHORE

PUBLICATION No. 65

RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN IS GRATEFUL TO THE EVACUEE PROPERTY TRUST BOARD, GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN, FOR THE GENEROUS FINANCIAL GRANT FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PUBLICATION PROGRAMME.

First Published : 1985

[redacted]

Printed at : Azharsons Printers, 108, Lytton Road, Lahore

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The present work is a collection of papers and articles written occasionally on different aspects of Iqbal's thought and art. Of these "Iqbal and Sanai" and "Iqbal on Muslim Fraternity" were presented at the First and Second International Congresses on Allama Muhammad Iqbal held in Lahore under the auspicies of the University of the Punjab in 1977 and 1983 respectively. "Iqbal and Rumi" was presented at the National Congress on Rumi organized by the University of Peshawar in 1978. "Iqbal's concept of Reason and Love" was contributed to the trilingual volume namely *Yad Nameh-ye-Iqbal* which was edited and published by Bahau'd-Din Aurang, Director of Iran Cultural Centre, Lahore, on the occasion of the 100th birthday celebrations of the poet-philosopher. The text of the last two papers has been recast and enlarged. English translation has been added to the original quotations in all the papers. Two articles of the present volume, that is, "Khudi" and "Iqbal's Growing Image in Iran" were published in the *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* in October, 1983 and January 1984 respectively. "Iqbal on Muslim Fraternity" was printed in *Iqbal Review* of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, in April 1984. These are being reproduced here through the courtesy of the above-mentiond organizations.

An attempt has been made to evaluate most of the salient features of Iqbal's thought and his concept of art. For the convenience of the readers who may be unable to appreciate Iqbal's poetry in the original all quotations have been rendered into English by the author. All facts and conclusions have been substantiated with firsthand source-material.

If I have succeded in providing a new insight or arousing fresh interest in Iqbal's thought and art by marshalling, analysing and interpreting new facts and putting them in the right perspective my labour has been more than rewarded.

Lahore
May 1985

A. Shakoor Ahsan

PREFACE

The present work is a collection of papers and articles written occasionally on different aspects of Iqbal's thought and art. Of these "Iqbal and Sanai" and "Iqbal on Muslim Fraternity" were presented at the *First* and *Second International Congresses* on Allama Muhammad Iqbal held *in* Lahore under the auspices of the University of the Punjab in 1977 and 1983 respectively. "Iqbal and Rumi" was presented at the National Congress on Rumi organized by the University of Peshawar in 1978. "Iqbal's concept of Reason and Love" was contributed to the trilingual volume namely *Yad Nameh-ye-Iqbal* which was edited and published by Bahau'd-Din Aurang, Director of Iran Cultural Centre, Lahore, on the occasion of the 100th birthday celebrations of the poet-philosopher. The text of the last two papers has been recast and enlarged. English translation has been added to the original quotations in all the papers. Two articles of the present volume, that is, "Khudi" and "Iqbal's Growing Image in Iran" were published in the *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* in October, 1983 and January 1984 respectively. "Iqbal on Muslim Fraternity" was printed in *Iqbal Review* of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, in April 1984. These are being reproduced here through the courtesy of the above-mentiond organizations.

An attempt has been made to evaluate most of the salient features of Iqbal's thought and his concept of art. For the convenience of the readers who may be unable to appreciate Iqbal's poetry in the original all quotations have been rendered into English by the author. All facts and conclusions have been substantiated with firsthand source-material.

If I have succeeded in providing a new insight or arousing fresh interest in Iqbal's thought and art by marshalling, analysing and interpreting new facts and putting them in the right perspective my labour has been more than rewarded.

Lahore
May 1985

A. Shakoor Ahsan

1

MISSION

"In the eyes of men of vision Iqbal led the life of a prophet, though he cannot be described as one".[1] Thus said Girami, an eminent contemporary poet. Coloured with exaggeration, this tribute, however, reveals the towering position which Iqbal enjoyed as a poet and a thinker in the eyes of his distinguished contemporaries. He had emerged as a poet-philosopher of world stature during his lifetime. Ever since, his thought has evoked interest and engaged attention of scholars and intellectuals the world over, especially, for its relevance to the problems facing humanity today.

Iqbal presented his specific philosophy of *Khudi* or Selfhood in 1915 in his Persian work *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) which soon introduced him to the West through its English translation by the famous British Orientalist Professor Reynaold Nicholson of Cambridge University.[2] *Rumuz-i-Bikhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), Iqbal's next publication first printed in 1918, was in a way a continuation of the same concept. If the first work dealt with individual life and glorified *khudi*, which may briefly stand for self-realization, self-affirmation and self-expression, the second enunciated relations between the individual and the society on the one hand and the basic principles of Islamic polity on the other.

The philosophy of *khudi* dominated all his poetic works, both Urdu and Persian, which make a glorious contribution to the history of literature for their exquisite blend of thought and art. He has utilized his vast artistic and aesthetic resources to support the logic and argument of his philosophy to lend his poetry a rare depth of thought and beauty and grace of expression.

The range of Iqbal's thought was extensive. It was wide enough to encompass life with all its dynamic possibilities. He glorified man and his unique role in the universe, his mission of the conquest of the forces of nature, of time and space, and ultimately his status as the vicegerent of God on earth. He laid stress on the complete freedom of human personality and immortality of the self. Besides, he devoted full attention to subjects like freewill and predetermination, intuition and intellect, mysticism, pantheism etc. Also, he constantly expressed his views on contemporary political, social, cultural, religious and economic problems with the wisdom and insight of a philosopher. He was a many-splendoured genius—a poet, philosopher, mystic, statesman, lawyer, a visionary and idealist as well as a practical realist. After a whole life of active participation in politics and deep study of the historical, political and communal forces working in the South Asian subcontinent he ultimately proposed the creation of a homeland for Muslims where they could lead a life of freedom and honour according to their own genius, values, aspirations and ideals. He made this historic proposal in the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League in Allahabad in 1930; and seventeen years later, this proposal, originally regarded as a poet's dream, became a reality in the shape of Pakistan.

Iqbal started as a lyrical poet in the traditional style, but soon his creat ve talent began to distinguish him from his contemporaries. Apart from *ghazal*, Iqbal composed poems on nature in an original and refreshing style. These poems were imbued with a romantic spirit and betrayed strong influence of Western romantic poetry. He even translated a few poems of English romantic poets. Again, some of his early poems were inspired by patriotic, national, social or religious sentiment and displayed an intimate touch with contemporary movements and events. These poems reveal a sense of purpose and a desire to harness poetry to respond to the callings of life. This significant consciousness of the importance of art as a vehicle to serve, enrich and ennoble life has been vividly expressed in one of these poems, namely, *Sir Sayyid ki Lauh-i-Turbat* (Inscription uo

Sir Sayyid's Tombstone). In this he underscores the impact of poetry on life through the tombstone of the great 19th century Muslim reformer, which counsels him to awaken a dormant nation with the miracle of his verse in the following vein :

سونے والوں کو جگا دے شعر کے اعجاز سے[3]

Awaken the sleeping people with the miracle of poetry.

Similarly in two early poems, both entitled *Sha'ir* (Poet), Iqbal lays stress on the vital importance of the poet for his keen sensibility and perceptions. For him the poet is the observant eye of the nation :

شاعر رنگیں نوا ہے دیدۂ بینائے قوم[4]

The sweet-singing poet is the detecting eye of the nation.

He is the life-giving source of inspiration for his people :

شاعر دل نواز بھی بات کہے اگر کھری
ہوتی ہے اس کے فیض سے مزرع زندگی ہری[5]

If the heart-soothing poet utters words true and candid,
His gracious role turns green the farm of life.

The poet's earlier wistful romantic attitude now gives way to strong realism, a broad vision and a sense of leadership. The realization of a poet's importance in national life motivates him to temper his genius with a reformist zeal, which manifests itself with great candour and elaquence in *Taswir-i-Dard*[6] (The picture of Agony), a poem animated with an ardent national spirit and love of freedom, struggle and unity.

At this stage the poet zealously aspired for national unity while his heart revolted against British colonialism. In another poem *Abdul Qadir Ke Nam*[7] (To Abdul Qadir) he reaffirms his determination to translate his rising aspirations into reality. This poem pulsates with a strong desire to lead, struggle and bring about a Muslim renaissance.

This was followed by a striking lyric, which indicated a revolutionary change in the poet's views and mode of expression. The

peom, as the one preceding it, was composed during the poet's stay in England. It is marked by a defiant accent and displays a firm resolve on the part of the author to throw himself into the struggle for independence. It particularly reveals the poet's strong concern with the universal Islamic fraternity and his determination to champion its cause. The following couplet is typical of the poet's mood and aspirations :

میں ظلمت شب میں لے کے نکلوں گا اپنے درماندہ کارواں کو
شرر فشاں ہو گی آہ میری نفس مرا شعلہ بار ہوگا [8]

In the dark of night I shall lead my weary caravan,
My sigh will spit fire, my breath will emit flames.

This poem may be regarded as a milestone in the formulation of Iqbal't thoughts. It is significantly dated March 1907.

Later he wrote some monumental poems which manifested his concern over the fate of Muslims and marked a sharp departure from his poems inspired by territorial nationalism. These include *Shikwah*[9] (Plaint), *Jawab-i Shikwah*[10] (Counter-Plaint) which were actuated by the general moral and material stagnation of Muslims all over the world, and *Sham'-o-Sha'ir*[11] (The Candle And The Poet) which appears to have been prompted by the oppressive Western policy against Turkey in the form of the Balkan and Tripoli Wars of 1912. In these masterpieces the poet completely identifies himself with the Islamic ethos. There is a sentiment of deep anguish, a sense of loss on the waning fortunes of the Muslims the world over, and a note of lamentation over the sad decline of their power. He concludes *Shikwah* with solemn prayers for the restoration of their past position as he compares himself with a lone nightingale in an autumn-ravaged garden dying to awaken its denizens by heart-piercing notes. *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* is characterized with robust optimism against a gloomy backdrop as well as an unshakable determination once again on the part of the poet to dedicate his genius to the cause of the *millat* and its struggle for survival. In the following symbolic couplet the candle—itself a symbol of light as well as agony—

reproaches the poet for his inaction and lack of leadership :

سوچ تو دل میں لقب ساقی کا ہے زیبا تجھے
انجمن پیاسی ہے اور پیمانہ بے صہبا ترا [12]

Search your heart, does it behove you to own the word *Saqi* ?

The comrades are thirsty and your goblet serves no wine.

In another couplet the poet not only elevates poetry to prophethood but also repeats his resolve to take upon himself the role of a guide-philosopher. Again, the candle counsels him :

کہہ گئے ہیں شاعری جزویست از پیغمبری
ہاں سنا دے محفل ملت کو پیغام سروش[13]

That poetry is a part of prophethood, is an old maxim,
Let the *millat* hear from you the message of Surush, the guiding spirit.

Within three years he presented the doctrine of *khudi*, and with this started his new role of a poet-philosopher. Incidentally, this also marked the beginning of his Persian poetry in a big way.

As Iqbal's notes in the shape of *Stray Reflections*[14] and his letters reveal, his mind after his return from Europe in 1908, was constantly seized of the problems of power and religion and their inter-relationship. It appears that this posture was motivated by the general pall of gloom which hung over the world of Islam. This view is strengthened by Allama's own words that the knowledge of the fundamentals of Islam is an essential prerequisite for a critical study of his poetry.[15] He has also remarked that a study of the contemporary political and social conditions is a must for the understanding of a philosophical system. The result of his constant reflections and contemplation during the years 1908-1915 appeared in the presentation of the doctrine of *khudi*. He described *khudi* or ego as the basis of life and the consciousness of the universe ; and stressed its preservation, expansion and fortification. On the reverse, he condemned the

philosophy of self-negation, passivity and resignation. He claimed to have based his philosophy on the precepts of the Qur'an.

The poet described this philosophy in inspired poetry which offered a unique blend of thought, melody and emotion. In expressing his thought he rose to such lyrical heights—compared to Shelley's by Nicholson—[16] that it became difficult to decide whether his poetry excelled his philosophy or his thought outshine his poetic gift. The poet, however, made a profound effect on the readers' mind which he wanted to revolutionize through his soul-stirring verse. He constantly laid stress on the immortality of the human ego and freedom of personality through the conquest of all obstacles in the world of matter and spirit.

Iqbal preached this philosophy during the rest of his life in refreshing genres ranging from lyric, ode and dialogue to allegory. He excelled in all forms of poetry which were enlivened not only with deep candour and earnestness, but also by a rare use of image, diction and music. He wrote in Urdu as well as in Persian. But his Persian collections outnumber his Urdu works and excel in variety and richness of themes. Why he adopted Persian as the medium of his thought and emotion was not merely due to his personal inclinations and taste ; his love of the beauty, grandeur and vastness of Persian literature and its rich traditions and the sweetness of the language ; but also to the much wider circle of readership that could gain access to his philosophy, which he constantly disseminated with a spirit of dedication.

On Himself

It is proposed to narrate in this chapter in his own words the momentous role he has played in creating a new moral, political and intellectual consciousness amongst his readers in general and Muslims in particular.

Iqbal was fully conscious of his genius. This emerges from the pages of his poetic collections in lively tones of exultation which is singularly free from arrogance. The poet is aware of his mighty role as the harbinger of a bright future, as one who has revolu-

tionized the minds of his people and radically changed their outlook on life. When he expounded his philosophy of *khudi* in 1915 he presented himself as a new rising sun on the horizon. Thus he claimed :

در جهان خورشید نوزائیده ام[17]

In me a new sun has arisen on the firmament.

Again :

چشمهٔ حیوان براتم کرده اند
محرم راز حیاتم کرده اند
ہیچ کس رازی کہ من گویم نگفت
ہمچو فکرمن در معنی نسفت[18]

I have been destined to be the Fountain of Life,
And initiated into the secret of living.
Nobody has revealed the secret,
Or cast pearls of ideas as I have done.

Identification with Ummah

Along with the dramatic introduction of his significant future role he completely identified himself with the Islamic *ummah* and prayed for the creation of a new consciousness amongst Muslims who had lost their moorings :

محروم تماشا کو پھر دیدۂ بینا دے
دیکھا ہے جو کچھ میں نے اوروں کو بھی دکھلا دے[19]

Let those without vision,
Have light and vision again.
Let others behold what I have beheld.

This shows not only a sense of close identification with his deprived people, but also a strong desire to let them share his understanding and perceptions. He noticed that people suffered from a lack of a united will and ideal and a crisis of identity. He was, therefore, animated with the desire to inspire confidence and give them a sense of direction.

تا سوی منزل کشم آوارہ را[20]

So that I lead the men adrift to destination.

He was restless to translate this desire into reality so that he did not merely dream and aspire but acted as a practial realist :

به ضمیرم آنچنان کن که ز شعلهٔ نوای
دل خاکیان فروزم ، دل نوریان گدازم[21]

Let a passion may so my soul inspire
That with the flame of melody
I burn the heart of men
And melt the soul of angels.

He longed to celebrate a new spring in an autumn-ravaged garden. But mighty obstacles frustrated his hopes. He, therefore, wished that if he could not realize his cherished desire, he might at least have the role of a small bird pouring out its sponteous music in the first flush of spring :

نغمۂ نو بہار اگر میرے نصیب میں نہ ہو
اس دم نیم سوز کو طائرک بہار کر [22]

If the spring song be not my fate,
Let this little-rapturous melody
Act as the tiny spring bird's notes.

He knew that the essential pre-requisites for the attainment of this great ideal were a burning passion and a deep emotion. These were lights which would lay bare the secrets of life and give him the strength to see reality with his own eyes. Characteristically, he aspired not only to behold it for himself but also to lead others to this goal :

آتشی در سینهٔ من بر فروز
عود را بگذار و هیزم را بسوز

باز بر آتش بنه عود مرا
در جهان آشفته کن دود مرا

یا کشا این پردهٔ اسرار را
یا بگیر این جان بی دیدار را

عقل دادی ہم جنونی دہ مرا
رہ بہ جذب اندرونی دہ مرا[23]

Kindle fire in my bosom,
Save the aloe and burn the wood,
Again, put this aloe of mine on fire,
And diffuse my smoke across the world.
Either raise this curtain of secrets,
Or take away this visionless soul.
You have given me reason ; bless me also with frenzy,
And lead me unto the realm of inner ecstasy.

Vision

What he consistently aspired for was a profound and penetrating vision so that life was revealed to him in its totality, and he could equip himself with the true qualities of a super-personality. To wit :

دل زندۂ کہ دادی بہ حجاب در نسازد
نگہی بدہ کہ بیند شرری بہ سنگ خارہ[24]

The live heart which you have bestowed upon me,
Does not reconcile with veiled reality,
Give me a glance which will behold spark in granite.

یا رب درون سینہ دل با خبر بدہ
در بادہ نشہ را نگرم آن نظر بدہ[25]

O Lord ! bless me with a perceptive heart,
With eyes that will detect intoxiction in wine.

He not only aspired for such a deep insight, but he also claimed that he possessed the vision of a new world which still remained a mystery for others :

تو بروی بینوای در آن جہان گشادی
کہ ہنوز آرزویش ندمیدہ در ضمیری[26]

On a humble person you have opened the door of a world,
Which has not yet stirred desire in human consciousness.

The poet claimed to have probed into the universe and scanned its possibilities with his imaginative insight. This had in fact awakened him to the existence of other worlds around him :

خیال من به تماشای آسمان بوده است
بدوش ماه و به آغوش کهکشان بوده است
گمان مبر که همین خاکدان نشیمن ماست
که هر ستاره جهان است یا جهان بوده است[27]

Oft my imagination has scanned the sky,
And moved in company with the moon and the Milky Way.
Do not think that this earth is our only abode,
For each star is a world, or has been one.

If on the physical plane the starry heavens provoked his imagination and stirred his thoughts, he passed his nights either in a state of rapture like the mystical Rumi (d. A H. 672/A. C. I273) or in commotion like the philosopher Razi (d. 606/1210) :

اسی کشمکش میں گزریں مری زندگی کی راتیں
کبھی سوز و ساز رومی کبھی پیچ و تاب رازی[28]

These states, whether of blissful ecstasy or distressing speculation, reveal emotional and intellectual activity of exceptional vitality, always visualizing new realities and tracking new possibilities. Life for him was neither complete nor final.

He made a highly significant reference to his inner thoughts in a letter to Atiya Begum on 17 July 1909. To quote :

"But if the innermost thoughts of my soul are ever revealed to the public, if what lies concealed in my heart is ever expressed—then, I am sure, the world will worship me someday after my death. They will forget my sins, and give me the tribute of a tear[29].

In the background of a vast knowledge of ancient and modern philosophical and religious thought, both Eastern and Western, Iqbal

took an independent view of life. According to him intuition plэyed a far greater role in the perception of reality than discursive reason. This brought him close to the view of Muslim mystics like Rumi and Ghazali (d. 505/1112). Amongst Western philosophers he admired Kant (d. 1804) for his concept of intuition. He criticised the undisputed dominance of intellect in determing the final truths of life with the unruffled confidence of a true devotee of the cult of love (*ishq*). Confident of his intuitive perceptions, and enriched with the joy of spiritual ecstasy he claimed to be *Dana-i-Raz* and *Dana-i-Asrar*, that is, the knowner of secrets and mysteries. He regarded himself a crusader against the onslaught of the political, economic and cultural imperialism of the West, and he fully realized that none had faced this blast of fury with such characteristic courage and determination as he. Thus he said :

جز تو ای دانای اسرار فرنگ
کس نکو نه نشست در نار فرنگ[30]

Except you O knower of the secrets of the Franks,
None fared so well in their blazing fire.

Again, he took pride that he had illumined the East with his own glow of passion :

خاوران از شعلهٔ من روشن است[31]

The East is glow with my flames.

He celebrated his contribution to the drowsy and lethargic East in the following words :

ای به خاور داده غوغای حیات[32]

O you have stirred the East with life anew.

He further claims that the flame he had kindled was the outcome of his spiritual and emotional anguish, midnight tears and lamentations, and states of ecstasy and deep love.

Guidance

Equipped with the light of morality, the vision of a mystic, the

wisdom of a philosopher, the gift of an artist, and the emotion of an anguished heart, Iqbal decided to guide his people to discover their identity, regain their past glory, tread the ever-expanding vistas of spiritual, moral and material heights, realize the majesty and beauty of life and give it a multi-diamensional harmony.

The positive impact of his poetry on the vast circle of his admirers inspired him with hope ; and with inherent conviction and a sense of triumph he sang with a gay abandon :

به صدای دردمندی به نوای دلپذیری
خم زندگی گشادم به جهان تشنه میری[33]

With an anguished voice and a striking melody,
I unveiled the jar of life to a world dying of thirst.

Again :

همه خاوران به خوابی که نهان ز چشم انجم
به سرود زندگانی سحر آفریده ام[34]

The whole East was in slumber,
When hidden from the eyes of stars,
I created dawn with the music of life.

The new wine and melody were essential because life around was inert and static. It needed a revolutionary change. His heart throbbed with the urge to shake the Eastern nations out of lethargy and gear up their energies through a soul-stirring philosophy of life. This aspiration is portrayed in the following lines :

قلزم یاران چو شبنم بی خروش
شبنم من مثل یم طوفان بدوش

نغمهٔ من از جهان دیگر است
این جرس را کاروان دیگر است[35]

My friends' sea of life is calm as dew,
While my dew resembles a stormy ocean.
My melody comes from a world afar,
This bell rings from a different caravan.

He desired to serve his vision for his people. Thus he said :

اندھیری شب ہے جدا اپنے قافلے سے ہے تو
ترے لیے ہے مرا شعلۂ نوا قندیل[36]

The night is dark and you have drifted away from the caravan,
For you the flame of my melody will act as the guiding light.

Although self or *khudi* constituted the main theme of his poetry yet for him the height of individualism was to harmonize itself with the interests of the group or the community in which the individual lived. Harmony between the aims and objectives of the individual and the group was the ideal of life, and he laid special emphasis on it. This synthesis of individual and group life is beautifully expressed in the following lines :

زندگی انجمن آرا و نگہدار خود است
ای کہ در قافلہ ای بی ہمہ شو با ہمہ روا[37]

Life brings the group together,
And yet it protects the individual self,
O you moving in the caravan !
Be distinct from all,
And keep company with everyone.

If he, therefore, aspired for a penetrating vision it was to serve humanity. If ever a thought crossed his mind to give a wistful moment of solitude to his romantic yearnings he was immediately reminded of his commitment to humanity in general and the *millat* in particular. This idea has been exquisitely expressed in his short dialogue with the desert tulip whom he always cherishes as a symbol of love, passion and sacrifice. He wishes to be in its company and take it in confidence about his own silent sufferings in love, but he is suddenly overwhelmed by the callings of his mission which rule out this costly indulgence. Thus he opens out his heart :

از داغ فراق او در دل چمنی دارم
ای لالۂ صحرائی با تو سخنی دارم

این آه جگر سوزی در خلوت صحرا به
لیکن چه کنم کاری با انجمنی دارم[38]

The beloved's separation has left a scar,
This has made a garden blooms in my heart.
O desert tulip ! I wish to communicate with you,
This tormenting sigh had better been heaved
in desert solitude,
But I have no choice,
I am beholden to crowds.

Fulfilment

With this overwhelming sense of solemn commitment he devoted his entire genius to the fullfiment of his ideals. He was only strengthened in his mission by the deep faith in himself. Regarding his historic role in awakening a dormant people he proudly claimed :

ہجومی بود رہ گم کردہ در دشت
ز آواز درایم کاروان شد[39]

A multitude was drifting in the desert,
My clarion-call knit it into a caravan.

In his role of steering his people to his high ideals he had to throw all his mental, spiritual and intellectual resources into the battle before he could win laurels and relish a sense of triumph. He makes a pointed reference to his devotion and contribution in the following verse :

چه نقشها که نه بستم به کارگاه حیات
چه رفتنی که نرفت و چه بودنی که نبود[40]

What prints have I not left on the sands of time ?
What compulsions have I not faced ?
What imperatives have I not confronted ?

The consciousness of his mission and the cravings and desires for its execution stirred him to face all perils inherent in this

crusade. He lived under British rule and he could only open out his heart at a good deal of risk. He often protested against the inroads of Western imperialism and exhorted his downtrodden readers to rise against the destruction caused by it. To cite an illustration, he challenged the imperialist master in the following symbolic strain :

ز شاخ آرزو بر خورده ام من
بسے راز زندگی پی برده ام من

بترس ای باغبان ای ناوک انداز
کہ پیغام بہار آورده ام من[41]

From the tree of desire have I drawn my sustenance,
The secret of life have I discovered.
Fear me O gardner, O archer !
Surely the message of spring have I brought.

Optimism

In fact, the beginning of his role of a guide and leader is inextricably linked with colonial agression. A reference has already been made to *Sham'-o-Sha'ir*. This poem opens on a note of despair and ends with a cheerful strain of roseate optimism which is in full harmony with the majestic diction, glowing imagery and sweeping melody of this poem. In this exquisite work of art the poet has painted a picture of Muslim renaissance at a time when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb. This attitude of robust optimism is one of the main characteristics of Iqbal's thought. With his attention fully focussed on sombre developments in the Muslim world and conscious of their disastrous possibilites, he never for a moment allowed a note of pessimism or despair to sneak into his poetry. Even in the gloomiest hours of the *millat's* misfortunes he always ended on a note of hope and cheer. The last stanza of *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* today reads like contemporary history in the context of developments which have taken place in the Muslim world since this poem was written seventy-three years ago. In 1912 the Muslim

world lay crushed under the heals of imperialism. Today more than 40 Muslim nations can boast of independence, and are struggling to put their house in order after a long ordeal of suffering and sacrifice. The poet happily forcast in 1912 :

آسماں ہوگا سحر کے نور سے آئینہ پوش
اور ظلمت رات کی سیماب پا ہو جائے گی

آ ملیں گے سینہ چاکان چمن سے سینہ چاک
بزم گل کی ہم نفس باد صبا ہو جائے گی

پھر دلوں کو یاد آ جائے گا پیغام سجود
پھر جبیں خاک حرم سے آشنا ہو جائے گی

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آ سکتا نہیں
محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو جائے گی[42]

The sky will turn radiant with the light of dawn,
And the darkness of night will swiftly move away.
Brethren in agony will come and join together,
And the zephyr and flowers will meet in a happy way.
Hearts will recall their humble prostrations,
And heads will again touch the sacred dust of the *Harem*.
What my eyes see I cannot dare utter,
Nor in amazement imagine how the world will change !

Similarly, in his poem *Fatima bint Abdullah*, which refers to the death of this little Libyan girl on battlefield in the Tripoli War, the poet has not only celebrated the martyrdom of this innocent child for her undying heroism, but also given tidings of the rise of a new dawn and the emergence of a new people on the ashes of this great sacrifice. Says he :

فاطمہ گو شبنم افشاں آنکھ تیرے غم میں ہے
نغمۂ عشرت بھی اپنے نالۂ ماتم میں ہے

رقص تیری خاک کا کتنا نشاط انگیز ہے
ذرہ ذرہ زندگی کے سوز سے لبریز ہے

ہے کوئی ہنگامہ تیری تربت خاموش میں
پل رہی ہے ایک قوم تازہ اس آغوش میں[43]

O Fatima ! though eyes rain down dew-like tears in your sad memory,
My dirge with a mirthful note is mingled.
How exhilarating is the dance of your scattered dust,
Each particle is bathed in rapturous spirit of life.
The peace of your grave is astir with commotion,
Its bosom is nursing a new nation.

The element of optimism and surging hopes finds fuller expression in *Khizr-i-Rah* (Khizr, the Guide) and *Tulu'-i-Islam* (The Rise of Islam) which were composed after World War I. The poet had been especially moved by the desperate resistance and unmatched heroism of the Turks against the combined might of hostile Western powers. He found in these developments heartening signs of Muslim resurgence. In the former he struck a jubilant note :

عام حریت کا دیکھا تھا جو خواب اسلام نے
اے مسلماں آج تو اس خواب کی تعبیر دیکھ[44]

O Muslim ! a dream was envisioned by Islam,
It was the dream of universal freedom,
See the interpretation of this dream today.

In the latter he looked into the future with boundless hope and joy and interpreted the colossal loss suffered by Turks as harbinger of the dawn of freedom and honour.

سرشک چشم مسلم میں ہے نیساں کا اثر پیدا
خلیل اللہ کے دریا میں ہوں گے پھر گہر پیدا

اگر عثمانیوں پر کوہ غم ٹوٹا تو کیا غم ہے
کہ خون صد ہزار انجم سے ہوتی ہے سحر پیدا[45]

Tears in the Muslims' eyes reflect the spring rain.
Once again pearls will glisten in Abraham's ocean.
If the Osmanis are crushed with mountains of grief
Why need be sorrowful,
For dawn always follows the blood of myriads of stars.

The last stanza of this poem joyfully promises a new future. Its dancing rhythm and fresh and gay imagery are in consonance with the poet's unshakable faith in resurgence. It starts on the following lively note :

بیا ساقی نوای مرغ زار از مرغزار آمد
بهار آمد نگار آمد ، نگار آمد قرار آمد
کشید ابر بهاری خیمه اندر وادی و صحرا
صدای آبشاران از فراز کوہسار آمد[46]

Come O Saqi ! the song of the tiny bird has echoed from woods,
The spring has arrived to the accompaniment of the sweetheart ;
And with her has come the cherished repose.
The spring cloud has pitched its tent in valley and plain,
The song of waterfalls has burst from mountain heights.

Seer

This strain of hope, optimism and insight lasts right until the end of his poetic works and provides a beacon of light and inspiration to the frustrated contemporary reader. Many of these couplets read like prophecies today. Tidings of freedom, resurgence and re-assertion of slave nations and promise of a bright future at a point of history when Western colonialism was at its heyday must have struck in those days as a mere fantasy or a dream. But the poet maintained this tempo throughout his life with conviction and solemnity. It brought a ray of hope and cheer in the midst of sombre development. To give a few more instances :

کھول کے آنکھیں مرے آئینۂ گفتار میں
آنے والے دور کی دھندلی سی اک تصویر دیکھ[47]

Open your eyes and see in the mirror of my words,
A hazy picture of the coming age.

Again :

باش تا پرده گشایم ز مقام دگری
چه دهم شرح نواہا کہ به چنگ است ہنوز[48]

Wait until I strike a note anew,
How can I narrate melodies still hidden
in the harp.

Raising hope of the downtrodden and depressed people of the East he says :

من به سیمای غلامان فر سلطان دیده ام
شعلهٔ محمود از خاک ایاز آید برون[49]

I have seen regal pomp and glory on the faces of slaves,
The flame of Mahmud is leaping from the dust of Ayaz.

To the people of Iran he gave the following message in mid-twenties of the present century :

میرسد مردی که زنجیر غلامان بشکند
دیده ام از روزن دیوار زندان شما[50]

A man will come and break the shackles of slaves,
This vision I have had from behind your prison walls.

He celebrated the end of imperialism in mid-thirties when it ruled undisturbed across the world :

گیا دور سرمایہ داری گیا
تماشا دکھا کر مداری گیا[51]

Gone is the age of capitalism for good,
The juggler has staged his show and made his exit.

In the same poem, which proclaims the doom of imperialism, the poet has made a vivid reference to the revolutionary scenario emerging in China and all over the Himalayas :

گراں خواب چینی سنبھلنے لگے
ہمالہ کے چشمے ابلنے لگے[52]

The dormant Chinese are coming into their own,
The springs of the Himalayas have started gushing forth.

Future

Although the poet turned nostalgically to the past for inspiration yet his eyes were fixed on the future. About the resurrection of the past he said :

میں کہ مری غزل میں ہے آتش رفتہ کا سراغ
میری تمام سرگذشت کھوئے ہوؤں کی جستجو[53]

My *ghazal* shows the way
To the fire that has ceased to flame.
My whole episode portrays
Quest for those who exist no more.

However, the poet does not confine himself to mourning the loss of a glorious past, but he is constantly dreaming as well as struggling for a ranaissance. All his thought-springs and creative artistic genius are directed to that end. He finds an inevitable link between the past and the future which is provided through the present. He has expressed this attitude in the following succinct and lucid verse :

دل بدوش و دیدہ بر فرداستم
درمیان انجمن تنهاستم[54]

My heart is set on the past.
My gaze is fixed on the future,
I feel alone in bustling company.

This attitude towards the past and the future and the link between them through the present also forms a part of his concept of history which he has presented in *Rumuz i-Bikhudi*. The strain of optimism, however, never parts ways with him and even in most despondent moments of loneliness he envisions a yet new caravan emerging in the arid wastes :

اندرین دشت و دری پہناوری
بو کہ آید کاروان دیگری[55]

My be, a new caravan emerges,
In the solitude of this vast desert.

Loneliness

The loneliness, which haunts him, is obviously due to his keen perception of the inexorable sweep of time and his unique effort to establish single-handed a creative relationship between an inspiring past and a bright future. Again he says :

نغمه ام از زخمه بی پرواستم
من نوای شاعر فرداستم[56]

I am a melody,
I need no plectrum,
I am the voice of the poet of tomorrow.

He was disturbed by the feeling that none had understood him. Standing at the cross-roads of history, he felt he had the vision to take a panoramic view of the pageant of life and perceive its realities. The conviction of seeing life in its true perspective and a deep insight into the future raised his towering genius in his own eyes. The unhappy feeling that he had not been properly understood in his lifetime never left him :

پس از من شعر من خوانند و دریابند و میگویند
جهانی را دگرگون کرد یک مرد خود آگاهی[57]

After I am gone, people will read my poetry,
Discover its meaning and say :
A man conscious of his self changed the complexion
of a whole world.

He was deeply conscious that his great vision had rendered him a total stranger amongst his own people. This feeling of oppresive loneliness and isolation is effectively portrayed in one of his last quatrains :

چو رخت خویش بر بستم ازین خاک
همه گفتند با ما آشنا بود
و لیکن کس ندانست این مسافر
چه گفت و با که گفت و از کجا بود[58]

When I departed from this earthly abode,
All claimed they knew me.

But none did know,
What this traveller sang,
With whom he conversed,
And wherefrom he came.

This quatrain reminds us of Prof. Nicholson's reproduction of the followiug pithy and meaningful remark on Iqbal "He is a man of his age and a man in advance of his age : he is also a man in disagreement with his age".[59]

Achievement

About the outstanding significance of his role in contemporary Muslim history as an idealist and a reformer he compared himself with Rumi, the greatest mystic poet of the world, to whom he had repeatedly paid homage in his works. He epitomized his identity of interest and ideal with the ancient sage in the following words :

چو رومی در حرم دادم اذان من
ازو آموختم اسرار جان من
بدور فتنهٔ عصر کهن او
بدور فتنهٔ عصر روان من[60]

Like Rumi I called Muslims to prayer,
From him I learnt the secrets of the soul,
He withstood the ancient age of trial,
I have withstood the present age of tribulation.

Much earlier, he had associated himself with the class of poets whose message was known and appreciated after they had deparated from the mortal world :

ای بسا شاعر که بعد از مرگ زاد
چشم خود بر بست و چشم ما گشاد[61]

O how oft a poet is born after death,
He closes his own eyes to open ours.

A poet of unsurpassed excellence, he yet resisted to be known as one. Poetry, he insisted, merely served as a medium to open out his heart to the reader and convey his message This attitude heightens the sense of purpose which already dominates his poetry.

The callings of the Muse always pale into insignificance before the sublime mission of his life. Nevertheless, the irrepressible artist in him finds ways and means to affect harmony between his contents and expression to carry off the reader not only by the sublimity of his thought, but also by the majesty and beauty of his art. Typical of his indifference to the compelling charm of his lyrical genius is the following line :

نغمه کجا و من کجا ساز سخن بهانه ایست
سوی قطار میکشم ناقهٔ بی زمام را [62]

What a wide gulf yawns between me and the Muse,
And the lyre is a mere excuse.
I only pull the undisciplined camel back to the string.

He denies his interest in poetic art and stresses dedication to his mission with still greater force in the following verse :

ندانم نکته های علم و فن را
مقام دیگری دادم سخن را[63]

I have no taste for literary and artistic subtleties,
To poetry have I lent a new posture,

The status which he gave to poetry is self-evident. He presented in it a whole code of life and interpreted it according to his own lights. His thought completely dominated the medium. That is why he firmly believed that substance in his verse transcended the art of poetry. He hailed himself as a poet in expression, but as one far beyond it in content :

پردهٔ تو از نوای شاعریست
آنچه گوئی ماورای شاعریست[64]

Your melody flows from poetry,
But your substance transcends the Muse.

He further protested against the traditional norms of poetry and its pet themes when he claimed that he had held out to the reader the promise of power and glory ; but addicted to the old conventions of arts, the latter did not appreciate the sublime thought

and spirit of his verse. In a moment of deep frustration he exclaimed :

من شکوه خسروی او را دهم
تخت کسری زیر پای او نهم
او حدیث دلبری خواهد ز من
رنگ و آب شاعری خواهد ز من
کم نظر بیتابی جانم ندید
آشکارم دید و پنهانم ندید[65]

I offer him the royal pomp and glory,
And place Khusraw's throne under his feet.
He demands from me the story of the beloved's wanton ways,
And the glamour of the poetic art.
Lacking insight, he did not see my restless soul,
He observed my exterior but did not look within me.

How averse Iqbal had grown to the art of poetry gradually and wished not to be known as a poet is manifest from a letter which he wrote on 20 August 1935. Says he :

میں نے کبھی اپنے آپ کو شاعر نہیں سمجھا ۔ اس واسطے کوئی میرا رقیب نہیں اور نہ میں کسی کو اپنا رقیب تصور کرتا ہوں ۔ فن شاعری سے مجھے کوئی دلچسپی نہیں رہی ۔ ہاں بعض مقاصد خاص رکھتا ہوں جن کے بیان کے لیے اس ملک کے حالات و روایات کی رو سے میں نے نظم کا طریقہ اختیار کیا ہے ورنہ :

نہ بینی خیر از آن مرد فرو دست
کہ بر من تہمت شعر و سخن بست[66]

I have never regarded myself a poet. Therefore, I have no rival, nor do I consider anyone to be my rival. I have little interest left in poetic art. Rather I cherish certain objectives, and in accordance with the conditions and traditions of this country I have adopted the medium of poetry for their exposition, otherwise :

You will not sense nobility in the uncharitable man,
Who accuses me of pursuing the art of poetry.

He was so confident of his significant role as the harbinger of Islamic resurgence that in spite of all humility he could not refrain from an open reference to this achievement in the following lines :

که گفت او را که آید بوی یاری
که داد او را پیام نوبهاری

چو آن سوز کهن رفت از دم او
که زد در نیستان او شراری[67]

Who conveyed to him the tidings of the beloved's scented presence ?
Who gave him the message of the first flush of spring ?
When the old burning passion of his had died down,
Who lit up in him the spark of life ?

His faith in his unfailing vision and a significantly destined role in the modern history of Islam gleams from the following parting words :

سرود رفته باز آید که ناید
نسیمی از حجاز آید که ناید

سر آمد روزگار این فقیری
دگر دانای راز آید که ناید[68]

The melody of yester-year may return or not,
The breeze from Hejaz may blow or not blow,
The days of this faqir have come to an end,
Another sage may now emerge or not.

2

KHUDI

The concept of *Khudi*, Ego or Selfhood commands primary importance in Iqbal's thought. *Khudi* is a Persian word which originally means self-centredness, conceit, vanity etc. and has been used obviously in a negative sense in mystical and ethical poetry. Iqbal has given it an entirely new connotation. It is one of the characteristics of his poetic language that Iqbal invests some of famous old words with new meaning and fresh significance. Briefly speaking, by *khudi* the poet-philosopher means self-consciousness, self-affirmation and self-expression. He maintains that *khudi* is the basis of life and the consciousness of the universe that seeks its manifestation in all phenomena of nature. God is the Ultimate Ego and He has created the universe to manifest Himself ; for self-xpression is in the very nature of the Ego :

پیکر ہستی ز آثار خودیست
ہر چہ میبینی ز اسرار خودیست
خویشتن را چون خودی بیدار کرد
آشکارا عالم پندار کرد[1]

Life is sustained by the Ego,
Whatsoever you see stems from the Ego's secrets.
When the Ego woke up to consciousness.
It revealed the world of thought.

The Ultimate Ego has created egoes outside Himself in order to measure His own power. Their creation, says the poet, has been prompted by the joy of strife (*lazzat-i-paikar*) :

در جہان تخم خصومت کاشتست
خویشتن را غیر خود پنداشتست

سازد از خود پیکر اغیار را
تا فزاید لذت پیکار را
میکشد از قوت بازوی خویش
تا شود آگاه از نیروی خویش[2]

It has sown the seed of strife,
And treats itself as other then itself.
From itself it raises the form of others,
So that it may increase the joy of strife.
With the strength of its arm it kills and destroys
That it may measure its own strength.

Like the Ultimate or Absolute Ego the human ego constantly strives to express and affirm itself. This ego is irrepressible and whatever the conscious or unconscious effort to suppress its callings it inevitably asserts itself. In the introduction to the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi* the poet wrote :

"the joy of living is related to the individual status, affirmation, fortification and expansion of the ego."

This means the ego should preserve, expand and fortify itself. Lack of preservation, affirmation and fortification will kill the joy of living. He maintains that all life is individual. It is a forward, assimilative movement and it removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them. It can subsist only in proportion to the power it wields. He illustrates this fundamental point by fascinating poetic imagination. For example, the earth has gathered power through self-consciousness and has consequently driven the less powerful moon to revolve round it. Again, the sun excels the earth in power. Hence the earth has to act as its satellite.[3]

Power

The poet seems to have been seized of the concept of power and its inevitable role in the evolution of life. He had been pondering over the question years before he published *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915. Thus he wrote to the famous poet Akbar of Allahabad on 18 October 1915 :

"Religion without power is mere philosophy. This is an extremely solemn problem and in fact it has motivated me to compose the *Mathnawi* (*Asrar-i-Khudi*). I have been seized of this problem since the last ten years.[4]

What thoughts and problems worried the poet during "the last ten years"? Much light is thrown on his mental preoccupations during this period by *Stray Reflections*, which is a collection of his random thoughts on different subjects expressed during a few months in 1911 in the form of brief and pithy notes.[5] He is acutely consicous of the basic role of power in life. So much so that he describes Islam's concept of God as Power and concludes with the words :

"I do not deny the love of God : I mean that, on the basis of our historical experience, God is better described as power.[6]

He repeats :

"Power is more divine than truth. God is power".[7]

That is the attribute which the poet-philosopher wishes man to assimilate ; and he regards it as one of the major pre-requisites of man's personality. "The powerful man", he says, "creates environment ; the feeble have to adjust themselves to it."[8] Civilization, in his opinion, is also a creation of the powerful man.[9] "Give up waiting for Mehdi—the personification of power", he says, "go and create him."[10] Discussing human personality he observes that "man is essentially an energy, a force, or rather a combination of forces...,"[11] He decries humility, contentment and slavish obedience which have tendency to dissolve personality. On the contrary, he extolls "high ambition, generosity, charity and a just pride in our tradition and power" as virtues which fortify the sense of personality."[12]

These observations assume extraordinary significance when we note that they were made in the formative period of Iqbal's philosophy of *khudi*. Power and *khudi* became synonymous with him. These were the basis of life and civillzation, and the loss of these led to a rapid deterioration of our collective personality. The concept of power should, therefore, be noticed in its true perspective as one of the motivating forces in the development of the individual self.

The ego constantly guards its individuality for the realization of its basic objective—the joy of living. The poet hails the stream which in its effort for survival turns into dust rather than lose its individual existence by merging in the ocean :

ای خوش آن جوی تنک مایه که از ذوق خودی
در دل خاک فرو رفت و بدریا نرسید[13]

Bravo ! the petty stream which relished self-consciousness
And sank into the heart of the earth but did not approach the sea.

In a fascinating poem, namely, *Shabnam*, he idealizes a drop of dew which is invited to fall into the sea and later emerge as a pearl. But the little drop prefers to settle on the petals of a tulip to prove its individual existence rather than lose itself in the sea.[14]

The preservation of the individuality of the ego is of such supreme importance that the human ego does not merge even in the Absolute Ego and jealously guards its own vital personality. The pantheistic mystics dwell on the favourite theme of complete human absorption in the Divine Being as that of a drop of water in the sea. Iqbal, also, partly cherishes this image but he compares the human ego with a lustrous pearl which does not lose its individuality even while it is lying at the bottom of the ocean.[15] Human ego and self-consciousness are so important that self-realization is a prelude to the realization of the Divine Being :

غلام همت آن خود پرستم
که با نور خودی بیند خدا را[16]

I bow to the proud egoist who perceives
God in the light of selfhood.

Love

Creative power invests man with Divine qualities. An insatiable love for creative objectives enables the ego to master the universe

which is its ultimate goal. In order to keep the fire of creativity burning life must pulsate with new desires :

زندگانی را بقا از مدعاست
کاروانش را درا از مدعاست

اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است
زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است[17]

Life is sustained by objectives,
Objectives tinkle its caravan-bell.
Life is hidden in search,
Its origin lies in desire.

Desire is the essence of life and the motive force of its aasimilative character. The life of nations, their culture and civilization, their knowledge and philosophy are all expressions of ardent desire. The irrepressible, creative desire whose object is to assimilate and absorb has been named love (*ishq*) by the poet. It is love which fortifies the ego, creates values and ideals and struggles to realize them. While love fortifies the ego, *sual* weakens it. *Sual* is used by the poet in a wide sense and it covers all that is achieved without personal effort. The ego has to caution itself against this evil, lest it slips into inaction and withers. The poet's imagination provides a striking simile. The moon, he says, borrows the light of the sun and has, thus, permanently stained its heart with an ugly scar. A mad creative passion gives beauty and glory to life, dependence mars it with ugliness and decay.[18] While discussing the factors which reduce the creative possibilities of the ego the poet contends that the concept of self-negation is the product of slavish mentality. The slaves use this as a weapon to weaken the dominant races. The weak bank on deceipt and pretence. That is why slavery breeds stratagem and machination. The philosophy of self-effacement deprives the mind of the force of action, will and determination and leads to loss of power.[19] This loss of power further leads to a state of fear and demoralization. At this stage the decadent nations begin to impart the word civilization to a state of moral and material decline.

In his discussion on the concept of self-negation Iqbal traces the destructive effect of neo-Platonism on *Tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) and Islamic literature. He regrets that Plato (d. 347 B.C.) rules our minds even totay whereas his philosophy has led to loss of action and power on our part. The poet subjects Plato and all others who, in his view, confuse reality with illusion and hold death rather than life as their ideal, to relentless criticism. The poet contends that these thinkers run away from matter which is the greatest obstruction to life. But matter is no evil as it challenges the inner powers of life to unfold themselves and enables the ego to attain the freedom for which it is perpetually struggling [20] When he first presented his doctrine of the ego in 1915 in *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he did not spare even Hafiz, the incomparable lyrical poet of Iran, whom his readers usually venerate as a mystic. This adverse criticism created an uproar in mystical circles in the Subcontinent and roused serious misgivings about Iqbal's philosophy of the Self. As a result the poet had to drop this portion in the later reprints of the book.

Wahdatu'l-Wujud

The pantheistic influence on Islamic mysticism found expression in the doctrine of *Wahdatu'l-Wujud*. Accorning to this doctrine the created universe is a mirage, a reflection of Being in not-Being, manifesting the attributes of the Being as the reflection manifests its original. The ideal of the created or not-Being is to seek union with the Being, and to be lost in it as the drop is lost in the sea. In mortality (*fana*) lies immortality (*baqa*). The role of the created is predetermined. This philosophy left no room for the exercise of the free will; and the concept of good and evil and recompense and retribution lost sense. The doctrine of *Wahdatu'l-Wujud* changed the vision of the personal Quranic God. The fundamental Muslim belief that there is no god but Allah was reduced to the concept that there is no being but Allah. The faith in a predetermined universe led to quietism, self-annihilation, monestic renunciation of the world, latitudinarianism and consequent abandonment of the strict observance of the *Shari'ah* or the religious law. It had an adverse impact on Muslim society and on its creative, dynamic and

progressive character ; and ultimately led to a state of resignation, inaction and passivity. The origin of this doctrine may be traced as far back as the pantheistic philosophy of Plotinus, and the Neo-Platonic Greek philosophers who had taken refuge in the court of Khusraw Anushirwan (531-579) in Iran after their expulsion by the Roman Emperor Justinian(483-565). This concept, however, fascinated Muslim mystics like Bayazid of Bistam (d. circ. 261/874) and Junaid of Baghdad (d. 298/910). It penetrated into Persian poetry in the 5th century A. H./11th century A. C. especially, in the quatrains of Shaikh Abu Said Abil-Khair (d. 440/1049). But it was Shaikh Muhyuddin Ibnu'l-'Arabi (d. 638/1240) whose exposition of this doctrine left a lasting impact on Sufism. Shaikh-i-Akbar, as the Sufis call him, makes a turning point in the history of speculative mysticism. According to Prof. Arberry "No mystic who came after him was free of his influence."[21] It can be said with confidence that with the possible exception of Rumi (d. 672/1273) no mystic has surpassed the impact created by Ibnul-'Arabi on Islamic mysticism. Iqbal himself had pantheistic leanings in his early life. In 1920 Dr. McTaggart wrote to him "...Have you not changed your position very much ? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much of a pantheist and a mystic."[22] But Iqbal's vision of *khudi* and its development in the form of a positive doctrine dealt a fatal blow to the pantheist in him. He once described most of the contents of Ibnul-'Arabi's famous work *Fususul-Hikam* as out of tune with Islamic beliefs and teachings[23] He condemned neo-Platonism as totally un-Islamic and unrelated to the philosophy of the Qur'an.[24] Regarding the concept of *fana* and *baqa* as held by the followers of *Wahdatu'l-Wujud* Iqbal once observed in a letter that it had proved more dangerous for Muslims than the destruction of Baghdad itself, and added that in a way all his writings constituted a kind of revolt against this interpretation.[25] He decried these and other influences like *Nirvana* and *Vedanta* on Islamic mysticism. In his interpretation of *khudi* Iqbal rejected these influence as foreign to the spirit of Islam ; and aimed at resurrecting the pristine Islamic principles, values and ideals of life. He not only accepted but also celebrated "*Tasawwuf*" as a purely religious and spiritual experience

but he rejected it as a system of abstract philosophy[26] which was in certain ways even opposed to the teachings of the Qur'an.[27]

Stages

Iqbal has presented a systematic and elaborate programme for the development and fortification of the human ego. This consists of three stages, namely, obedience of the Law, self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or ego-hood and Divine vicegerency. The eduction of *khudi* begins with unquestioned obedience. The poet has chosen camel as the symbol of submission, who happily plods his wearisome way in the desert in the hope of reaching the final destination. Man, the poet wishes, should nourish the same spirit and attitude in performance of his duties. This spirit of obeisance fortifies and develops personality ; and the submissive attitude finally grows into power and authority. The powerful personality surrenders to the compulsions of discipline ; for discipline sustains life. Lack of discipline and order produces chaos ; and unbridled liberty leads to license. All phenomena of nature bear witness to an acute sense of order and discipline, and man should be no exception. His submission to discipline will fortify his ego. For a Muslim, says the poet, discipline means submission to the laws of Islam and rediscovery of his cherished liberty.[28]

The second stage is that of self-control. It inculcates mastery of one's own extravagant desires. In the taming of refractory impulses and base desire lies his true valour. One who cannot master one's own being cannot rule the others, not to speak of conquest of the forces of nature. Self-control creates bravery and freedom and eliminates all kinds of psychological and mortal fears. The observance of Islamic dogmas includes the spirit of such self-discipline and imparts strength to *khudi*.[29]

Superman

The third stage signifies true human greatness. At this stage man becomes the vicegerent of God on earth. He is powerful, fearless, creative, perfect. He is the leader of men, the herald

of a new order and upholder of daring ideals and lofty aims. He is, in short, a superman.[30] Iqbal has given him different names to wit, *Mard-i-Kamil*, *Mard-i-Mu'min*, *Mard-i-Haq*, *Mard-i-Hur*, *Faqir* and *Qalandar*. In two of his collections, *Asrar-o-Rumuz* and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, the poet has devoted more space to this concept, although his philosophy of such an ideal man is closely linked with his concept of *khudi* and he has glorified him in all his works as the true exponent of the ego. Such a man is equipped with profound faith and unsurpassed valour. The belief in *La Ilah* (there is no diety) invests him with boundless courage, and no power on earth can influence him. He totally disdains mundane charm and love of ease. He is imbued with the undying fire of love which can shake mountains. His religion, principles, values and ideals derive inspirations from the fountain-head of Divine Being. He relishes trials and tribulations. Dangers bring him strength, and challenges chasten his will. He is singularly unmindful of death and welcomes it cheerfully when it comes. He is constantly at war with the hostile environment without. His chief objective is to assimilate Divine attributes to the maximum possible limit. By virtue of such realization he can master both time and space. In short, he is the completest ego, nearest to the most unique Individual—God. That, says the poet, is the ultimate destiny of man.[31]

Nietzche

Some critics tend to trace Nietzsche's (d. 1900) influence on Iqbal's ideal man. Nietzsche's superman is also a symbol of power, which is one of the fundamental traits of Iqbal's perfect man. Iqbal was undeniably a great admirer of the German philosopher and repeatedly paid him homage for his love of power and ceaseless activity. He described him as a man with a believer's heart but an unbeliever's head :

آنکه بر طرح حرم بتخانه ساخت
قلب او مؤمن دماغش کافر است[32]

He who raised a temple on the corner-stone of *Haram*,
He has a believer's heart, but an unbeliever's head.

He also named him a *majzub*, a high tribute in Islamic mysticism for a man lost in spiritual ecstasy. His superman, however, is vastly different from Iqbal's in certain vital respects. Nietzche hated humility and lowliness and was a doughty champion of power, self-affirmation and force. He considered the concept of self-negation as the weapon of decadent or slave people. Such people, he asserted, preached this concept in a way that it acquired a halo of spiritual glory, while creative and adventurous effort was condemned as a hallmark of rank materialism. In the light of this philosophy he subjected Christian virtues and asceticism to relentless attacks. These, he contended, had misled the human race to the path of decadence. The fundamental value in human life, in his scheme of things, was power—brute power. He believed that life was eagerly waiting for the superman who would reconstruct its aims and ideals. He will be the symbol of absolute power and will love to live dangerously. He will scoff at obstacles, challenge hostile forces, passivity and lowliness. Iqbal also looks upon power as one of the fundamental qualities of his ideal man. He also condemns Neo-Platonic philosophy and certain alien concepts for playing a destructive role in regard to Islamic philosophy and literature. He contends that certain negative attributes in Islamic literature such as passivity, self-oblivion, lack of verve and zest are the direct result of these influences. But the similarity ends here. While Nietzche believes in blind power, Iqbal tempers it with moral and spiritual values. His perfect man is a harmonious blend of the spiritual and the material. Nietzsche upholds power in the hope of the birth of a superior human species, while Iqbal, like Rumi, needs power to chasten and fortify *khudi* to a state of life where it can assimilate the maximum Divine attributes. For him power is not blind, blatant or ruthless. Rather, it is subordinate to the callings of the spirit and morality. His ideal Muslim is mighty as well as forgiving ; powerful as well as holy :

قہاری و غفاری و قدوسی و جبروت
یہ چار عناصر ہوں تو بنتا ہے مسلمان[33]

Power, forgiveness, purity and omnipotence,
When these four elements combine a Muslim is born.

In a beautiful simile the poet has admonished man to build himself into a massive citadel, but in this strong frame should be nestled a sensitive heart like a gentle stream flowing in the mountains :

تنی پیدا کن از مشت غباری
تنی محکم تر از سنگین حصاری
درون او دل درد آشنای
چو جوی در کنار کوہساری[34]

Build a body out of a handful of dust,
A body stronger than a massive citadel.
In it nourish an anguished heart,
Like a rivulet flowing in the mighty mountains.

This harmony of power and gentleness, of might and graciousness, distinguishes Iqbal's perfect man from Nietzsche's superman. In another inspiring verse Iqbal describes his ideal man as a person tender as dew who lends a soothing touch to the tulip's heart ; but like a tempest strikes terror in the heart of mighty rivers :

جس سے جگر لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم
دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان[35]

He is dew that cools the tulip's heart,
He is tempest that terrifies the swelling rivers.

Thus, if Nietzsche reject Christian virtues of love and humility, Iqbal wants man to create in himself the attributes of God and by getting nearest to God become the completest person. But Iqbal insists that man is not finally absorbed in God. Rather he absorbs God into himself.

In fact the concept of superman did not originate with Nietzsche. Rumi had presented his ideal of a perfect man seven centuries ago and craved for him in sweeping lyrical strains :

دی شیخ با چراغ ہمی گشت گرد شہر
کز دیو و دد ملولم و انسانم آرزوست
زین ہمرہان سست عناصر دلم گرفت
شیر خدا و رستم دستانم آرزوست

گفتم که یافت می نشود جسته ایم ما

گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست[36]

Last night the *Shaikh* roamed about the city with a lamp in hand, "I am sick of the demons and beasts and pine for a man", he wailed,

"My heart aches in the company of these slothful humans,

I yearn for the Lion of God; and for the legendary Rustam."

"That is not to be found", I uttered, "much though have we searched",

"He who is not to be found", he snapped, "is the one I long for."

Ibnu'l-'Arabi also presented the idea of superman in his books *Fususu'l-Hikam* and *at-Tadhkiratu'l-Ilahiyyah.* Another Muslim thinker Abdul Karim Jili (d. 811/1408) also produced a book entitled *al Insanu'l Kamil.* Iqbal has discussed Jili's views in his doctoral thesis published in England in 1908.[37] Denying Nietzche's influence on his own concept of the perfect man, Iqbal once wrote to Prof. Nicholson that certain British critics had been misled by a superficial resemblance between his thoughts and those of Nietzsche. He added that when he first wrote on the Sufistic concept of the perfect man he had neither heard about Nietzsche's views nor had he yet seen his works.[38]

Bikhudi

A word about *Bikhudi.* Just as Iqbal gave a new connotation to the word *Khudi*, he invested *Bikhudi* with an entirely novel significance. He has used it in the sense of abandonment of the interests of the self or ego for the sake of the higher collective good. If *Asrar-i-Khudi* emphasized the fundamental role of the self in human life, *Rumuz-i-Bikhudi* preached the doctrine of the sacrifice of the self in the larger interests of the society. The two are complementary to each other. One without the other lacks full significance and perfection.

In a letter written on 20 July 1918 Iqbal says :

"...there is another *bikhudi* which is of two types :

1. One is the outcome of reading lyrical poetry. This belongs to the kind which is born of opium and wine.
2. The second is that particular *bikhudi* which according to certain Muslim *sufis* and Hindu *yogis* results from losing the human self in the Divine Being . . . "

The poet continues :

"The first kind of *bikhudi* is possibly useful to some extent, but the second one cuts at the very roots of religion and morality. I have objections to both these categories. In my opinion the real Islamic *bikhudi* connotes abandonment of personal and private likes, inclinations and concepts in favour of obedience to the Divine commandments. . . ."[39]

In other words the individual ego transforms its role of "I" into "you" and willingly restricts its options. The all-pervading sense of love for the community becomes a guiding light and inspires the individual to limit his rights in the greater interest of the group :

چون ز خلوت خویش را بیرون دهد
پای در ہنگامۂ جلوت نہد

نقش گیر اندر دلش "او" میشود
"من" ز ہم می ریزد و "تو" میشود

جبر قطع اختیارش می کند
از محبت مایہ دارش می کند[40]

When it emerges from privacy
And steps into manifestation,
"He" becomes the dominant passion in its heart,
"I" drops from its existence and turns into "you."
Compulsion cuts at the roots of its option,
And enriches it with the bliss of love.

The poet says that life is both a custodian of the self and of the group, and admonishes the individual to move in the mainstream of collective activity in such a way that he is both isolated from and united with everyone else :

زندگی انجمن آرا و نگهدار خود است
ای که در قافله ای ، بی همه شو ، با همه رو[41]

Life embellishes association as well as guards itself,
O you travelling in the caravan ! be apart from everybody and yet move along with everyone.

As long as the individual self does not clash with the group's interests, it has to be given full expression for the attainment of positive goals and the creation of ever new desires and ideals. The harmony between the individual and the collective self best serves the callings of life. The nation, says the poet, exists on the unity of ideal, purpose and emotion which pulsates individual hearts :

ملت از یکرنگی دلهاستی
روشن از یک جلوهٔ سیناستی

قوم را اندیشه ها باید یکی
در ضمیرش مدعا باید یکی[42]

The *Millat* emerges from the unity of hearts,
It is lit up in full splendour with one flash of Sina.
The nation should live on the unity of ideas,
Its hearts should throb with the unity of ideals.

The collective self thus derives its strength and survival from the individual self. While the individual lives through harmony of the body and the soul, the group thrives on its cultural traditions. The poet has compared the nation with a glance born of a myriad of eyes. This unity of sight means the unity of thought and action. It is here that the interests of the individual and the nation merge in one single harmonious whole.

3
LOVE AND REASON

Contrast between love and reason has been a favourite subject of philosophers and mystics in the past. It has been one of the dominant themes of mystical Persian poetry, and even among modern European thinkers Kant, Nietzche and Bergson (d. 1941) have devoted keen attention to this vital problem of life. Iqbal was a poet-philosopher and to few poets of the world the words of Coleridge (d. 1834) that "no one was ever yet a great poet without being at the same time a profound philosopher"[1] apply more aptly than to him. The time and environment in which he lived helped him evolve a philosophy in which the comparative value of love and intellect played a singularly important part. In fact the strain of love runs deep in his poetry and forms an integral part of his philosophy of *khudi.*

Of the early Sufis Iqbal has deeply felt the vitalizing spell of Rumi's philosophy whom he fondly calls his spiritual guide. Rumi differed with other mystic poets in as much as he opposed the Neo-Platonic philosophy which had overwhelmed Muslim thought for centuries. Like other mystics, of course, Rumi believed in the gospel of love as a determining influence on life, but his conception of love was far wider and profounder. He was at one with other mystics in their belief that cold logic was not the means of true knowledge of the universe, and spiritual experience was the only way to perceive Reality. Besides, as a philosopher he looked upon love as the greatest motive force in life—as a universal urge for a creative, dynamic and forward movement. He found this passionate urge even in the leaf of a tree which breaks all shackles and bursts into life from a state of apparent stagnancy :

ای برگ قوت یافتی تا شاخ را بشگافتی
چون رستی از زندانی بگو ، تا ما درین حبس آن کنیم[2]

O leaf ! you gathered force and burst out of the branch,
Tell us how you escaped from prison,
We shall follow your lead in our own prison-house.

The intense spiritual experience through which he passed inspired him to write some of the most exquisite stanzas on love. Iqbal's philosophy of love is deeply influenced by Rumi. Like his illustrious forerunner. Iqbal believed in the attainment of immortality and freedom of the ego as the primary object of life ; for this attainment could ultimately make man the supreme or perfect individual which is the ideal of all life. This, he held, was not possible without assimilating and absorbing the qualities prominent in the beloved. But this was beyond the scope of intellect or reason. The role of love, on the other hand, was to assimilate such virtues. "This word", he writes to Prof. Nicholson, "is used in a very wide sense, and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them."[3] Thus love becomes the central theme of life, because through it alone is the essential purpose of life achieved.

Creative Passion

Iqbal is the poet of frenzied emotion, creation and passion. Call it the emotion of life, the passion of the soul, or intuition or faith, love is to him the regenerating spirit of the universe. It is through love or spiritual perception that the ego can best be fortified. Love creates desires and ideals, and as such maintains constant tension in the life of the individual. This state of tension, which Iqbal calls personality, is the most valuable achievement of man. It is only through constant tension that man is enabled to attain freedom and immortality, and thus conquer time and space. Love creates a strong urge to fulfil desires. Without the continual creation of desires and ideals life will come to an end. Hence love is the flame of life. It is the restless, ceaseless craving born of love that gives life its noble colour. It makes possible imperishable achievements and conquests. The poet relishes this state of longing, and the creation of unending desires :

شادم کہ عاشقان را سوز دوام دادی
درمان نہ آفریدی آزار جستجو را [4]

How jubilant I feel,
You ingrained in lovers a constant,
restless passion,

And did not create a remedy
For the agony of search and longing.

This constant craving for the fulfilment of ideals has to be distinguished from a state of sickening sorrow which negates the creative urge. On the contrary the pangs of love and the agony of discovery are manifestations of an exuberant, creative passion which scorns at the sentimental sorrows of life. Rather, this passion lends to human soul a state of perpetual joy and exhilaration. The poet makes an eloquent comparison between this enlivening distress and the worldly sorrows in the following words :

یک غم است آن غم که آدم را خورد
آن غم دیگر که هر غم را خورد[5]

There is a grief which eats up the man,
And yet there is a grief which devours all griefs.

Rumi hails the mad spirit of love in the same joyous strain :

شاد باش ای عشق پر سودای ما
ای طبیب جمله علت های ما[6]

Hail to you O maddening love
O you the physician of all our ills.

This state of creative passion and frenzy is the spirit and essence of life. The Sufi poets have always celebrated this ethereal experience as the guiding force. But there is a fundamental difference between Iqbal and the typical Sufi. Although the latter treats love as a source of mirth and joy, yet it tends to create in him a state of self-absorption which alienates him from the external phenomena. Iqbal, on the other hand, believes that apart from this purely subjective, spiritual experience, love plays a determining influence in the conquest of physical environment and elemental forces. Hence the true manifestation of this sweeping passion is only possible by affecting a harmony between the spiritual and the material. Its inner restlessness produces knowledge. Its ingenious frenzy creates arts and sciences. It lends depth and verve to religion. In fact religion based on discursive reason is incomplete. Only the passion

of the soul can breathe life into it. Love equips the lover with infinite power and fire. No wonder if it could enable Farhad to pierce a canal through the rocks of Mount Bisutun. In fact, says the poet, love has the power to carry all these mountains on its shoulders :

تیشه اگر به سنگ زد این چه مقام گفتگوست
عشق بدوش میکشد این همه کوهسار را [7]

Little surprise if it struck hatchet on stone,
Love carries mountains on its shoulders.

Cure of Ills

The more the capability for the assimilation of the beloved's attributes, which the poet has described as *taqlid* (blind devotion), the nearer is the goal of power and eternity. Thus love becomes the cure of all human maladies. The storm of anguish created by love ultimately becomes the soure of tranquility :

این حرف نشاط آور میگویم و میرقصم
از عشق دل آساید با این همه بیتابی[8]

I sing these mirthful words and dance,
"With all its restlessness love soothes the heart at last".

کیفیت ها خیزد از صهبای عشق
هست هم تقلید از اسمای عشق

عاشقی محکم شو از تقلید یار
تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار[9]

What qualities are born of the wine named love,
Even *taqlid* is amongst the attributes of love.
Are you a lover ? let devotion to the beloved give you strength,
Until your noose may capture the Deity.

Perception of Reality

While drawing a contrast between love and discursive reason all Sufi poets have rejected reason as the main light of life. According to their doctrine of love reality cannot be apprehended by reason

which lacks the passion of life. It is only love, intuition or spiritual experience which can fully perceive Realiry. They contend that knowledge can prove dangerous and even destructive if it is subordinated to the call of mundane desires. Sanai (d. 545/1150), 'Attar (d. 627/1230) and Rumi have laid immense stress on this point. Rumi has compared knowledge, canalized to achieve purely physical and material ends, to a snake ; and Sanai has identified it with a thief. The same knowledge becomes a true friend if it is harnessed to the callings of the heart which symbolizes spiritual and emotional purity. Rumi says :

علم را بر تن زنی ماری بود
علم را بر دل زنی یاری بود[10]

Apply knowledge to the body, it turns out to be a snake,
Apply it to the heart, it becomes a friend.

And says Sanai :

چو علم آموختی از حرص آنگاه ترس کاندر شب
چو دزدی با چراغ آید گزیده تر برد کالا[11]

When you have acquired knowledge fear greed,
Because when a thief comes with lamp in hand
He carries away the choicest goods.

Rumi regards discursive reason as totally insufficient to unfold the mystery of life. The secret of religion cannot be perceived by mere intellect. Like Ghazali he has in fact derided the limited vision of the philosopher who in obeisance to Greek thought looked upon reason as the main source of understanding.

Iqbal is deeply influenced by Rumi's philosophy of life, and like his spiritual preceptor finds reason bound by certain grave limitations. The intellectual, social and historical background of modern times enabled Iqbal to lend greater depth and meaning to this concept. The ruthless behaviour of modern intellect dismayed Iqbal, and he found it an uncontrollable wild force, not always tracking the right path. Thus he looks upon undisciplined reason as a great tragedy of modern civilization. During the last three centuries

discurive reason has found an ideal opportunity to flourish. But the conquest of physical environment has deprived man to look into his spiritual and moral self. His independent and unsurpassed intellectual adventure, says the poet-philosopher, carries seeds of self-destruction. He finds modern knowledge utterly bereft of creative love. This knowledge, he contends, draws a huge veil between man and reality :

دانش حاضر حجاب اکبر است
بت پرست و بت فروش و بتگر است[12]

The present knowledge is a big veil,
It worships idols ; makes idols ; sells idols.

In Iqbal's eyes reason does not always play a creative role. Love by contrast, is an active, creative and dynamic reality. Reason is limited by time and space. Love is spaceless and timeless. If reason is the guiding lamp, love is the destination :

گزر جا عقل سے آگے کہ یہ نور
چراغ راہ ہے منزل نہیں ہے[13]

Leave reason behind,
Albeit a guiding lamp in journey,
It is not the destination.

Reason is in constant pursuit of facts and truths, and keeps on skipping from one reality to another. It has a wide range of vision and activity and its field of exploits is limitless. But it suffers from conflicts, contradictions, doubts and scepticism. The profusion of its concepts, and the differences and contradictions faced by it leave it badly mauled. The poet describes this unenviable condition in the following couplets.

از حقایق تا حقایق رفته عقل
سیر او بی جاده و رفتار و نقل

صد خیال و ہر یک از دیگر جداست
این بگردون آشنا آن نارساست[14]

Wisdom has skipped from fact to fact,

Its journey is pathless, speedless, motionless.
It nourishes a hundred ideas, each different from the other,
One touches the sky, the other falls low.

Reason analyzes facts, comprehends problems and interprets phenomena. But it is lost in the labyrinth of cause and effect and cannot percieve reality. It is destined to live in a constant state of doubts, hopes and fears. Love, on the contrary, keeps constantly steadfast, resolute and firm. It is endowed with the wealth of faith; and faith moves mountains. The exploits of love bring it eternal glory:

عقل در پیچاک اسباب و علل
عشق چوگان باز میدان عمل

عقل را سرمایہ از بیم و شک است
عشق از عزم و یقین لاینفک است[15]

For wisdom cause and effect create a maze,
Love in the field of action its dashing spirit displays.
Fear and doubt are wisdom's only base,
Resolution and faith do love integrate.

In order to fulfil the fundamental urge of life, intellect must be astir with the frenzy or the passion of the soul. Without it knowledge fails to serve its purpose. The poet has brought out this point in the following lines:

شنیدم شبی در کتب خانۂ من
بہ پروانہ میگفت کرم کتابی

بہ اوراق سینا نشیمن گرفتم
بسی دیدم از نسخۂ فاریابی

نفہمیدہ ام حکمت زندگی را
ہمان تیرہ روزم ز بی آفتابی

نکو گفت پروانۂ نیم سوزی
کہ این نکتہ را در کتابی نیابی

تپش میکند زنده تر زندگی را
تپش میدہد بال و پر زندگی را[16]

I heard in my library one night,
A bookworm whispering to a moth.
"I nestled in the works of Ibn Sina,
And saw many a book of Faryabi.
Alas I failed to perceive the wisdom of life,
No light ever brightehed my dismal days."
How well did the anguished moth reply :
"You will not find this point in a book,
Anguish gives greater glory to life,
Anguish gives to life its drive and force."

New Perspective

This extraordinary zeal expressed for the passion of the soul has created strong misgivings in certain minds about Iqbal's conception of reason or intellect. There are many lines in his works—as quoted above—where the poet has actually derided reason. But a close study of Iqbal's poetry is bound to set at rest such doubts and apprehensions. A deeper study of his works reveals that the poet has not cried down reason in categorical terms, but has, on the other hand, put the term in a new perspective.

Iqbal does not approve of the conventional view that intellect should by confined to the external phenomena as distinctly apart from the field of spiritual perception. He believes that when permeated with love, intellect becomes fully identified with spiritual experience. "In fact", he observes, "intuition, as Bergson rightly says, is only a higher kind of intellect."[17] That he is fully conscious of the role of reason is evident from the following code which he has set for a Musalman's life ;

بتاؤں تجھ کو مسلماں کی زندگی کیا ہے
یہ ہے نہایت اندیشہ و کمال جنوں[18]

Shall I tell you what the life of a Muslim is ?
It is the harmony of the best of thought and
creative frenzy.

In some of his earliest poems, Iqbal admits that intellect has the potentialities to apprehend the mystery of life, but what he insists is that it cannot probe into this mystery single-handed, and in its effort to conquer time and space it must crave the guidance of love or intuition.

Thus in order to achieve the purpose of life that Iqbal has set before himself intellect has a distinct role. It is also a type of love and has an intuitive insight into beauty in all its glory. Only it lacks the creative madness and desperate courage to face all hazards.

عقل ہم عشق است و از ذوق نگاہ بیگانہ نیست
لیک این بیچارہ را آن جرأت رندانہ نیست[19]

Reason is also love, and no stranger to the delight of vision,
But alas, the poor one is wanting in dash and courage.

Also he believes that intellect by itself lacks the means of transcending the external phemomena with the speed and dash of love :

عشق کی اک جست نے طے کر دیا قصہ تمام
اس زمین و آسماں کو بیکراں سمجھا تھا میں[20]

One leap of love ended the matter for good,
How naively had I looked upon the earth and the sky as limitless.

Divested of spiritual ardour intellect lets loose the force of evil and darkness.

علم را بی سوز دل خوانی شر است
نور او تاریکی بحر و بر است[21]

Should you acquire knowledge without a fervent heart,
Its glorious light gives way to darkness on land and seas.

Thus he proposes, that intellect, in order to achieve the virtues

of intuition, should subject its activity to the dictates of love :

نقشی کہ بستہ ای ہمہ اوہام باطل است
عقلی بہم رسان کہ ادب خوردهٔ دل است[22]

The pictures fancied by you are sheer, vain illusions,
Acquire reason which has been chastened by love.

When steeped in love, intellect becomes fully identified with spiritual experience :

عقلی کہ جہان سوزد یک جلوهٔ بیباکش
از عشق بیاموزد آئین جہانبانی[23]

Reason which by a single intrepid flash
Burns the world to ashes,
Learns from love its code of governing the world.

What Iqbal objects to, therefore, is the unfettered freedom of intellect devoid of the guidance of love. Whenever he subjects intellect to uncompromising, ruthless criticism, it is because he conceives it as a force divorced of intuitive insight acting on its own selfish initiative. Like Rumi, Iqbal believes that one can perceive the Ultimate Reality only through spiritual experience which is another name for love. But that does not imply a complete denial of the importance of reason. The poet on the other hand is conscious of its potentialities as a vital force in the life of an individual. It is here that he invests it with a new meaning and a new dimension. He even goes so far as to classify reason into two compartments. He condemns the reason that is bereft of the emotion of life. But he approves and feels positively enthusiastic about the reason steeped in the influence of love or faith :

اک دانش نورانی اک دانش برہانی
ہے دانش برہانی حیرت کی فراوانی[24]

There is a knowledge resplendent with faith,
There is a knowledge based on reason,
The discursive knowledge leads to the height of stupefication.

Complementary Role

Intellect and intuition are, therefore, not contradictory to each other : they have a rather complementary role to play in life A harmonious blend of the two may create a new zeal in life and invest it with a new glory. The poet makes this point clear in the following lines in which love is made to invite reason to share the common struggle in life :

بیا این خاکدان را گلستان ساز
جهان پیر را دیگر جوان ساز
بیا یک ذره از درد دلم گیر
ته گردون را بهشت جاودان ساز[25]

Come and convert this earth into a garden,
Turn the old world young once again.
Come and share a bit of my heart's sufferings,
And change the skies into eternal paradise.

On what Iqbal lays special emphasis, however, is the fundamental value of love, because knowledge of reality is inherent in it. Reason becomes a part and parcel of love if it is inspired with the passion of life. Unaccompanied and unaided by love it may grope in darkness and confusion. Thus we shall see that intuition and intellect, or love and reason, though often arrayed in opposite camps by the poet, are not incompatible with each other and in the final analysis intellect—if it is endowed with the light of spiritual perception—becomes a part and parcel of love.

———

4

MUSLIM FRATERNITY

Muslim fraternity forms one of the fundamental themes of Iqbals' poetry. He believes that Muslims all over the world form one united community based on common religion and tradition. Throughout his works rings the note of this distinct unity. He exults in the universal Islamic heritage to which all Muslim peoples have made magnificent contribution over the centuries. He cherishes this precious heritage as common and indivisible and completely identifies himself with the mainstream of Muslim ethos and shares the common joys and sorrows of Muslims as an integral part of the great universal Islamic brotherhood. The Muslims whether from Hejaz, China or Iran are like the dews of the same smiling morn :

از حجاز و چین و ایرانیم ما
شبنم یک صبح خندانیم ما[1]

We hail from Hejaz, China, Iran,
We are the dews of the same smiling morn.

This concept is essentially based on the unity of God and the doctrine of Prophethood which forged scattered groups of people into a universal fraternity and inspired them with a common ideology. The poet has laid special stress on Prophethood and argues that if an individual survives through God, the nation survives through Prophet. Our common creed, aims and ideals, he says, all derive their inspiration from Prophethood :

از رسالت همنوا گشتیم ما
هم نفس هم مدعا گشتیم ما
کثرت هم مدعا وحدت شود
پخته چون وحدت شود ملت شود

دین فطرت از نبی آموختیم
در رہ حق مشعلی افروختیم

این گہر از بحر بی پایان اوست
ما کہ یکجا نیم از احسان اوست[2]

Prophethood turned us into a community inspired
with unity of expression, mode and ideal.
A multitude inspired with one aim and ideal merges
in unity.
When the unity is complete it turns into *millat*.
We learnt the religion of nature (Islam) from the
Prophet,
And kindled a torch in the path Divine.
This gem has emerged from his immeasurable ocean,
By his grace do our hearts throb in unison.

مست چشم ساقی بطحاستیم
در جہان مثل می و میناستیم[3]

We are enamoured of the eyes of the Saqi of Batha,
We exist together like wine and goblet all the world over.

Again, the poet has given the word *millat* a new connotation. For him it always stands for the Muslim *ummah* and not for a single, particular group of Muslim people.

The disastrous political and moral decline of the *millat* engaged his thoughts in his early poetic career. When he presented his philosophy of the self in *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915, he was already seized of the problem of the *millat* which, he sadly commented, had been cut off from its moorings. He subjected it to scathing criticism for its neglect of Islamic ideals and attitudes and the consequent process

of disintegration, and admonished it to rediscover its identity and lost unity :

از سواد کعبه چون آهو رمید
ناوک صیاد پهلویش درید

شد پریشان برگ گل چون بوی خویش
ای ز خود رم کرده باز آ سوی خویش

ای امین حکمت ام الکتاب
وحدت گم گشته خود بازیاب[4]

When the gazelle fled from the environs of the Ka'ba,
His bosom was ripped by the hunter's arrow.
The rose-petal fell apart lik: its very scent,
O you fleeing from yourself, come back unto yourself.
O trustee of the wisdom of the Book !
Rediscover your lost unity.

The doctrine of *khudi*, which he systematically and assiduosly preached in this book, is inextricably linked with power and domination. No wonder that the hanging pall of gloom over the Muslim world evoked the poet-philosopher to present the concept of *khudi*. The *millat* has constantly influenced his thoughts and significantly, the poet's second Persian work *Rumuz-i-Bikhudi* opens with an address to *Millat-i-Islamiyyah*[5], that is, the Muslim nation, and not to a specific nation, race or group of people.

Contrary to his ideals, however, the poet found that the world of Islam was fast capitulating to an exclusive nationalism. It could not but corrode the fraternal bonds of Muslim peoples. All his life, therefore, he waged a crusade against this new concept based on race and territorial boundaries, which, he believed, was alien to the spirit of Islam. He was not averse to patriotism and love of one's habitation. But, as he contends in a letter to Prof. Nicholson, the structure of groups and nations on the basis of race and territorial

frontiers is merely a passing phase in the development of collective life. He does not object to this phase but he is opposed to the theory that it is the ultimate goal of human activity.[6] Thus, while he justifies partiotism, he hates exclusive territorialism, not to speak of chauvinism. People may be associated with a certain territory, but it should not stop them from rising above parochial limits and prejudices. In this connection the poet cites the fascinating example of the sun which rises from the east and is proverbially associated with it, but which traverses the heavens and humbles all horizons.[7] In a similar fashion a Muslim should loathe to confine himself to limited space. One who flouts the sense of confinement, he says, becomes supreme and universal :

هر که از قید جهات آزاد شد
چون فلک در شش جهت آباد شد[8]

One who transcends the limits of directions
overwhelms all the six directions like the sky.

The Muslims may have different nomenclatures and manifestations of local cultures, but in this diversity lies their essential unity. Their real country is Islam :

قلب ما از هند و روم و شام نیست
مرز بوم او بجز اسلام نیست[9]

Our heart does not belong to India, Rum (Turkey) or Syria,
A Muslim's only habitation is Islam.

In an exceptionally original interpretation of *Sura-i-Ikhlas* he observes that a Muslim is the son of Islam,[10] who is related to fellow Muslims through the unbreakable bonds of close spiritual affinities. The poet admonishes the Musalman to live free and detached like a fish in the sea. Nationalism leads to destruction, deception and rivalry between nations, and division between man and man ; and

cuts at the roots of the *millat*.[11] Only the elimination of racial and national distinctions can save this enfeebled universal brotherhood :

بتان رنگ و خوں کو توڑ کر ملت میں گم ہو جا
نہ تورانی رہے باقی نہ ایرانی نہ افغانی[12]

Break all idols of colour and blood and merge yourself in *millat*,

Because the Turanians, Iranians and Afghans have lost their past glory.

In an exquisite quatrain he has refuted the concept of territorial nationalism by claiming that Muslims are neither Afghans nor Turks nor Tartars. They have bloomed in the same garden and belong to one branch. The distinction of colour and odour is forbidden them, because they are the products of one happy spring :

نہ افغانیم و نی ترک و تتاریم
چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است
کہ ما پروردۂ یک نو بہاریم[13]

A *dervish*, who for Iqbal is an ideal Muslim, belongs neither to the east nor to the west. His home is neither Delhi nor Isfahan nor Samarqand :

درویش خدا مست نہ شرقی ہے نہ غربی
گھر میرا نہ دلی، نہ صفاہان، نہ سمرقند[14]

One who is destined to voyage through immeasurable seas cannot be bounded by the Ravi, the Nile or the Euphrates :

رہے گا راوی و نیل و فرات میں کب تک ؟
ترا سفینہ کہ ہے بحر بیکراں کے لیے[15]

That is why he has given the Muslims the name of *millat-i-giti-navard*[16] or the globe-traversing nation. Thus he visuailzes a

limitless field of exploits for a Muslim and invests him with a global vision and vast human sympathies. As he once wrote to Prof. Nicholson, he wished to remind his fellow Muslims that their real interest lay in the progress of the entire humanity.[17]

There are certain vital historical factors which engaged Iqbal's constant attention to the Muslim world and impelled him to preach the gospel of Muslim unity and fraternity as it had been conceived and vehemently advocated by the revolutionary-reformer Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din Afghani (d. 1314/1897). The poet found Western colonialism riding roughshod over the East, especially, the Muslim countries. The region now known as the Middle East was the main target of ruthless imperialist onslaught and caused deep consternation amongst the Muslims of the Subcontinent on account of their close spiritual, cultural and emotional links with it. The four nations of the Middle East, namely, the Turks, Arabs, Iranians and Afghans became the focus of the poet's attention and he pursued their fortunes with infinite concern and anxiety. While making impassioned appeals to all Muslim countries to unite, reassert, revive the Islamic spirit and build up their future on the traditions of their great past, he also addressed to each of these nations separately.

Turks

Turkey was the first country to engage his attention on account of its shifting fortunes. In the eyes of the Muslims of the Subcontinent the Ottoman Caliphate was the guardian of Muslim faith and tradition and the symbol of Muslim pride and unity. The Western nations, however, frantically conspired to oust the Turk, whom they scornfully called the sickman of Europe, from that continent. Turkey was involved in the Tripoli and Balkan wars in 1911. The end of World War I successively saw the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, a heroic and victorious war of liberation by the Turks, the establishment of the republic of Turkey and the abolition of the Caliphate. Iqbal wrote many poems throughout this period highlighting the desperate courage and heroism of the Turkish nation. Of these *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam* are the

monumental examples. These are imbued with robust optimism and rising hopes.

When Turkey overcame its political crisis, Iqbal continued to pursue new developments in that country with his characteristic concern. He supported the new constitutional developments in that country in his lecture on "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam" and justified the Turkish concept of *Ijtihad* in regard to the institution of Khilafat.[18] Again, fully agreeing with the Turkish national poet Zia on an international ideal of Islam he says :

"For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics."[19]

While concluding his discussion on the subject of re-evaluation of intellectual inheritance and reconstruction of religious thought, Iqbal again pays homage to modern Turkey in the following words :

"The truth is that amongst the Muslim nations of today, Turkey alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber, and attained to self-consciousness. She alone has claimed her right of intellectual freedom ; she alone has passed from the ideal to the real—a transition which entails a keen intellectual and moral struggle... They (Muslims countries) are mechanically repeating old values, whereas the Turk is on the way to creating new values. He has passed through great experiences which have revealed his deeper self to him. In him life has begun to move, change and amplify, giving birth to new desires, bringing new difficulties and suggesting new interpretations."[20]

This is a great compliment paid to modern Turkey by the poet of the East. Later developments in Turkey, however, seem to have disillusioned the poet. He became rather critical of the adoption of the Western style of living and Western culture by that cherished land of Muslim hopes. This modernization, he remarks, has no

streak of originality. What the Turk deems to be new is nothing but obsolete in the Western eye. Imitation (*taqlid*) he adds, does not lead to a fuller and richer life, as the creative process in the universe does not owe itself to imitation. By imitation life is bound to lose its intimate touch with reality. For a Muslim the quest for creativity receives its fulfilment in the Quranic guidance, because each verse of this holy book is the repository of a hundred new worlds, of which only one can suffice the modern age :

ترک را آهنگ نو در چنگ نیست
تازه اش جز کهنهٔ افرنگ نیست

طرفگیها در نهاد کائنات
نیست از تقلید تقویم حیات

چون مسلمانان اگر داری جگر
در ضمیر خویش و در قرآن نگر

صد جهان تازه در آیات اوست
عصرها پیچیده در آنات اوست

یک جهانش عصر حاضر را بس است
گیر اگر در سینه دل معنی رس است[21]

The Turk lacks new tunes in his harp,
His new is but the old of the Frank.
The new and original in the universe is not possible
by imitation in life,
If you have the heart of a Muslim look into your
consciousness and the Qur'an.
A hundred worlds abound in its contents,
Epochs are epitomized in its moments.
Only one such world does suffice the modern age,
Know, if you have an understanding heart.

Again, he is extremely critical of the superficial social changes introduced into Eastern countries under the Western impact. Without naming Turkey, he lashes at Eastern nations exposed to such influences in the following words :

قوت مغرب نه از چنگ و رباب
نی ز رقص دختران بی حجاب
نی ز سحر ساحران لاله روست
نی ز عریان ساق و نی از قطع موست
محکمی او را نه از لادینی است
نی فروغش از خط لاطینی است
قوت افرنگ از علم و فن است
از همین آتش چراغش روشن است[22]

The strength of the West does not lie in the harp and the rebec,
Nor in the dance of immodest girls.
Nor does it lie in the magical charm of its dazzling beauties,
Nor in the bare legs and short hair styles.
Its stability does not lie in irreligiousness,
Nor is its advancement the outcome of the Latin script.
The power of the West flows from its knowledge and science,
From this fire has it kindled its lamp.

Arabs

The poet reminds the Arab of the revolutionary character of his religion and brings into bold relief his historic achievements in the early days of Islam in the background of his present downfall. He wants him to probe into the causes of his decline and fall, and beware of the superficial glamour of the West. He underscores

the all-pervading importance of religion which had once equipped the Arab with faith, will, purity and determination. He tries to awaken in him the spirit of the great Islamic heroes Umar and Khalid, so that he may resurrect his dominant role in the present-day world :

خاک بطحا خالدی دیگر بزای
نغمهٔ توحید را دیگر سرای
ای نخیل دشت تو بالنده تر
بر نخیزد از تو فاروق دگر؟ 23

O land of Batha ! raise another Khalid,
Sing once again the song of Divine unity.
May the date-palms of your desert sway in lasting bloom,
Will not another Faruq arise from your soil ?

In a fervent appeal to the Arabs he wishes them to become once again the creators of history and revive their ancient glory by the undying flame of love, a burning passion for quest and an unshakable faith in their historic role. It saddens him to observe that they have created nations out of one people :

امتی بودی امم گردیدهٔ
بزم خود را خود ز هم پاشیدهٔ 24

You were one nation, but have multiplied into nations,

You have torn apart the bliss of a happy society.

He persistently warns them against total dependence on others and a static existence :

زندگانی تا کجا بی ذوق سیر
تا کجا تقدیر تو در دست غیر 25

How long will you live without the joy of movement,

How long will the strangers control your destiny ?

He reminds them of the words of the Holy Prophet that for a man the day of adversity is the day of purity :

از بلا ترسی حدیث مصطفیٰ است
مرد را روز بلا روز صفاست[26]

Are you afraid of calamity ? The Prophet observes :
"For a man the day of calamity is the day of purity".

The poet has eulogized the early role of the Arabs as the pioneers of modern civilization. Their creative endeavours brought light and progress into the world. They are bound by destiny to revive their predetermined role and master the sweep of history.[27]

In his address to the Arab poets[28] he proudly reveals the light he has received from the Qur'an. With its blessings, he says, he has turned the long dark night into dawn. He exhorts them to draw inspiration from their own conscience :

مجو غیر از ضمیر خویش یاری[29]

Do not seek aid except from your own conscience.

This is to stir the heart of the reader with a restless passion, inspire him with revolutionary zeal and ideals and last but not least nourish in him a deep concern for his Muslim brethren. He stresses the imperishable value of creative effort and of the passion to master the future :

بدست آور رگ فردای خود را[30]

Hold your grip on the artery of tomorrow.

He further wishes the Arabs to cultivate a proud sense of *faqr*, that is, a total disdain of worldy temptations. With the virtue of *faqr*, he says, even the destitute can spark off revolutions and rock the world.[31] The poet disseminated this message when the Arab world was singularly devoid of material resources, and the liquid gold had not yet started flowing from its deserts.

Iranians

He turns to Iran again and again with an equal concern. Attached to its mighty intellectual past and hopeful of its eventful future, he was nevertheless disillusioned by its contemporary political and social trends, especially its narrow concept of territorial nationalism and its fascination for the glamour of Western life. A people who had created civilization, the peot regrets, had been lost to the West without getting into the roots of its thought and mainsprings of its intellect. The national ego had let loose a spate of racial prejudices, the Arabs being its main target. This trend ran counter to the Islamic concept of fraternity. The nearer the modern Iran got to the Achaemenian and Sasanian tradition, the farther it moved from its fraternal Islamic moorings. Thus the poet laments :

کشتهٔ ناز بتان شوخ و شنگ
خالق تهذیب و تقلید فرنگ

کار آن وارفتهٔ ملک و نسب
ذکر شاپور است و تحقیر عرب

روزگار او تهی از واردات
از قبور کهنه می جوید حیات

با وطن پیوست و از خود در گذشت
دل به رستم داد و از حیدر گذشت[32]

Victim of the gay. vivacious beauties,
Creator of civilization ; and yet blind imitator of the West !
The craze of that possessed nationalist and racist is to celebrate Shahpur and condemn the Arab.
His life is bereft of spiritual experiences,
He seeks it in ancient graves.
Dedicated to the fatherland, he has lost himself,
Infatuated with Rustam, he has severed ties with Haidar !

He painfully recalls that the people of Iran had become oblivious of the debt they owed to the Arabs who had brought them new life and vitality when their own ancient culture had become decadent. Islam, he says, saved them from moral and cultural collapse. Nevertheless, the poet is not despaired of this gifted nation and he visualizes the possibility of its vital role in world politics :

تہران ہو گر عالم مشرق کا جنیوا
شائد کرۂ ارض کی تقدیر بدل جائے[33]

If Tehran becomes the Geneva of the East,
The destiny of the world perhaps may change.

But this dream, he knew, could not be realized in the near future, for Reza Shah was not the man who could come up to his high hopes and aspirations. Nor was, for that matter, Kemal Ataturk, the leader of modern Turkey. They fell far short of his supreme ideals. Says he :

نہ مصطفیٰ نہ رضا شاہ میں نمود اس کی
کہ روح شرق بدن کی تلاش میں ہے ابھی[34]

Neither Mustafa (Kemal) nor Reza Shah
Can signify the spirit of the East,
Which is still in quest of a body.

Constantly following their destiny the poet identifies himself with the people of Iran and acknowledges his debt to the fountain-head of Iranian thought :

غوطہ ہا زد در ضمیر زندگی اندیشہ ام
تا بدست آوردہ ام افکار پنہان شما
فکر رنگینم کند نذر تہی دستان شرق
پارۂ لعلی کہ دارم از بدخشان شما[35]

My mind fathomed the depths of life before
I could lay hand on your hidden thoughts.
My glowing thought offers to the destitute of the East
The lone ruby which I have acquired from your ruby-land.

Afghans

The poet has devoted profound attention to the Afghan nation and made a sustained effort both in his Persian and Urdu works to awaken it to new realities and possibilities of life and arouse its dormant capabilities and talent. He, therefore, returns to this theme time and again to stir the Afghans to a sense of self-consciousness and self-affirmation :

رومی بدلے ، شامی بدلے ، بدلا ہندوستان
تو بھی اے فرزند کہستاں اپنی خودی پہچان[36]

The Turks have changed, so have the Syrians, and so has India,
You too, O son of the mountains ! know yourself.

Again :

از مقام ذوق و شوق آگاہ شو
ذرہ ای ای صیاد مہر و ماہ شو[37]

Perceive the sublimity of love and ecstasy,
From the position of a particle rise to be the captor of the sun and the moon.

The poet visualizes for the Afghan people a pivotal role in the history of Asia :

آسیا یک پیکر آب و گل است
ملت افغان در آن پیکر دل است

از فساد او فساد آسیا
از گشاد او گشاد آسیا[38]

Asia is a body of water and clay,
Of which the Afghan nation forms the heart.
Its decline is the decline of Asia,
Its rise is the rise of Asia.

Apart from his other works, Iqbal has devoted exclusively one book to Afghanistan, namely, *Musafir*, which was published after his visit to Afghanistan on the invitation of King Nadir Shah in Oct-Nov. 1933. Significantly, this book deals less with description and observation and more with his specific philosophy of the self in the context of the conditions in Afghanistan. He acts as a friend, guide and philosopher most of the time, acquaints the Afghans with the secrets of the self and urges them to determine their own fate in the complex realities of the times. Their's is a land, he tells his Afghan brethren, which produces valour and is the home of intrepid heroes, but which suffers from lack of cohesion, order, perfection and devotion to ideals :

لیکن از بی مرکزی آشفته روز
بی نظام و ناتمام و نیم سوز
آه قومی بی تب و تاب حیات
روزگارش بی نصیب از واردات[39]

But he is groaning under centrifugal trends,
He lacks system, perfection and spirit.
Woe betide the nation which lacks the urge for life,
A nation which is bereft of spiritual ecstasy.

He is painfully conscious of the inadequacies and limitations of the Afghans, and his heart aches for lack of creative endeavour amongst them :

آه از امروز بی فردای او[40]

Alas for his today which has no tomorrow.

He admonishes the Afghan to equip himself with a sense of purpose and direction and enliven his soul with constant creation of desires and ideals. The motive force in life, he tells him, is desire which awakens life to ever new possibilities and gives it colour

and substance. The worth of an individual is known by the desire he cherishes :

زندگی بر آرزو دارد اساس
خویش را از آرزوی خود شناس
چشم و گوش و هوش تیز از آرزو
مشت خاکی لاله خیز از آرزو[41]

The foundation of life is desire,
Measure your worth by the desire you cherish.
The eyes, ears and understanding are all sharpened by desire,
Astir with desire, a handful of dust can raise tulips.

Like other Muslim nations, he guides the Afghans to meditate over the Quranic wisdom and assimilate it as the holy book is the repository of a hundred and one new worlds :

صد جهان باقی است در قرآن هنوز
اندر آیاتش یکی خود را بسوز[42]

A hundred and one worlds still live in the Qur'an,
Soak yourself a little in its contents.

Besides, he wishes his Afghan brother to master sciences and knowledge because it is the harmony of the spirit and the matter which can bring strength and dignity to the *millat*. He reminds him that it was the Muslims whose creative love of knowledge and quest for the unknown laid the foundation of modern sciences. To wit :

برگ و ساز ما کتاب و حکمت است
این دو قوت اعتبار ملت است

آن فتوحات جهان ذوق و شوق
این فتوحات جهان تحت و فوق
حکمت اشیا فرنگی زاد نیست
اصل او جز لذت ایجاد نیست
لیک اگر بینی مسلمان زاده است
این گهر از دست ما افتاده است[43]

Our entire wealth lies in the Book and knowledge,
The *millat* derives its stature from these two forces.
The former implies victories in the world of ardour and ecstasy,
The latter brings victories in the world around.
The material knowledge is not a product of the West,
Its origin lies in the joy of creativity.
If you make a deep probe, this too is a creation of the Muslims,
It is a pearl which has dropped from our hands.

His distrust of the superficial Western style of living and social habits is as evident in his address to the Afghans as it is in his advice to other Muslim peoples. The cause of a myopic attitude by Muslims towards the Western civilization, says the poet, is love of ease and laxity. But this love of an unenviable nature, he warns, is a sinister indication that the soul has left the body :

سهل را جستن در این دیر کهن
این دلیل آن که جان رفت از بدن[44]

To seek the easy way in this hoary world denotes
That the spirit has departed from the body.

Rehabilitation of Values

These implorings to the Muslim people had the one objective of rehabilitation of true Islamic values and the renaissance of the Muslims the world over. These individual implorings often merge in unison and rise in a mighty crescendo of revolt and resurgence. To wit :

خاور همه مانند غبار سر راهی است
یک نالهٔ خاموش و اثر باخته آهی است
هر ذرهٔ این خاک گره خورده نگاهی است
از هند و سمرقند و عراق و همدان خیز

از خواب گران، خواب گران، خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز
فریاد ز افرنگ و دل آویزی افرنگ
فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزی افرنگ
عالم همه ویرانه ز چنگیزی افرنگ
معمار حرم ! باز به تعمیر جهان خیز
از خواب گران، خواب گران، خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز[45]

The entire East is like dust on the pathway,
It is a silent cry ; it is a barren sigh.
Each particle of its dust is a sullen glance.
Arise from Ind, Samarqand, Iraq, Hamadan !
Arise from deep slumber, an endless deep slumber,
Arise from deep slumber !
O help against the West and its ravishing charm,
Against its Shirin-like seductive sweetness,
And its Perviz-like Imperial character,

And its Chengiz-like vandalism which has laid
the world waste.

O architect of the *Haram* ! arise to build a
world anew,
Arise from deep slumber, an endless deep
slumber,
Arise from deep slumber.

The poet was fully conscious of the weaknesses and infirmities of the present day Muslim and he never ignored or condoned them. He found Muslims lacking in creative frenzy and dynamic passion. Thus the picture of the Muslim world which emerges from this incisive criticism, spread over his entire life, does not appear to be wholly bright. He is fully conscious of the distance that lies between the ideal and the real. Moments of despair betray themselves in his private correspondence as well. For example, in a letter he laments that the heart of the coming Muslim generations totally lacks the spiritual perceptions which constitute the basis of his ideals.[46] But these moments of gloom are dissipated by the poet-philosopher's reformative drive. Even in the darkest moments of the *millat's* misfortunes he played the role of an unfailing optimist and a prophet of hope and resurgence. The martyrdom of Fatima bint Abdullah during the war of Tripoli brought him the tidings of a new morn and the birth of a new nation whom the mortal eye could not yet see.[47] In *Khizr-i-Rah* he gave the happy news of a new era because a bright day had dawned even though at the cost of a hundred thousand stars. He radiated undying faith in the survival of the *millat*. While discussing its destiny he says that nations have fallen and withered. The Muslims have themselves passed through fire and blood and faced unprecedented catastrophies and upheavals like the sack of Baghdad. But they are one nation, he asserts with profound conviction, which is destined to survive and live. The Muslim, he says, derives his light from the flame of *La ilah* which can not be extinguished. Extinction of the Muslim will mean the extinction of the universe

itself. This nation transcends the limits of time and space. Nations may rise and fall, but the nation of Islam will live for ever.[48] "Death cannot touch a Muslim" he wrote in a letter to poet Girami "for his inherent strength absorbs both life and death and effaces the contradiction of existence and non-existence."[49]

Iqbal presents a guiding programme for Muslims to revive their old self. This consists firsty, of devotion to the Qur'an:

چون مسلمانان اگر داری جگر
در ضمیر خویش و در قرآن نگر
صد جهان تازه در آیات اوست
عصرها پیچیده در آنات اوست[50]

and secondly, dedication to the historical Islamic tradition. The poet confidently observes that when a nation is about to disintegrate it can survive through dedication to its old traditions and institutions. That is why he lays repeated stress on the pristine glory of Islam. Thirdly, he calls for compliance with the religious law. The Muslim, according to Iqbal, lost the secret of his earlier dynamic character and sank into apathy and inaction the moment he failed to live up to the standards and values set by the Holy Prophet. Fourthly, the poet lays stress on the presence of a physical centre of national life. In the case of a Muslim, he says, it eminently exists in the form of *Baitul-Haram* or Ka'ba. It forms the nucleus of a unifying and binding force for all Muslims. In the beginnig of his poetic career he prayed to the Almighty:

بھٹکے ہوئے آہو کو پھر سوئے حرم لے چل[51]

Lead the astray gazelle to the *Haram* again.

and at the end he again exclaimed:

جز حرم منزل ندارد کاروان
غیر حق در دل ندارد کاروان[52]

There is no destination of the caravan but *Haram*
It has naught but Truth in its heart.

Prayers

Deep and lasting love for the Muslim nation and Iqbal's oft-repeated prayers for the progress and solidarity of the *millat* and the restoration of its old glory colour his entire poetry. This emotion is imbued with rare intensity and total dedication. Prayers for the collective good of the *millat* have significantly found precedence over his supplications for himself or for the dearest of his kith and kin. In these prayers he has invariably wished the *millat* to share his pangs and yearnings, his hopes and aspirations, the fire of his heart, the frenzy of his soul, his emotion and intellect, and his unswerving faith in the face of the gathering storm of scepticism. To quote :

مرے دیدۂ تر کی بے خوابیاں
مرے دل کی ہوشیدہ بے تابیاں
مرے نالۂ نیم شب کا نیاز
مری خلوت و انجمن کا گداز

امنگیں مری ، آرزوئیں مری
امیدیں مری ، جستجویں مری
مری فطرت آئینۂ روز گار
غزالان افکار کا مرغزار

مرا دل مری رزمگاہ حیات
گمانوں کے لشکر ، یقیں کا ثبات
یہی کچھ ہے ساقی متاع فقیر
اسی سے فقیری میں ہوں میں امیر
مرے قافلے میں لٹا دے اسے
لٹا دے ٹھکانے لگا دے اسے[53]

The sleeplessness of my moist eyes,
The hidden restlessness of my heart.
The humility of my midnight cry,
My anguish both in moments of aloofness
and association..

My ambitions and my desires,
My hopes and my quests,
My mind, the mirror of the time,
And the meadow of the gazelles of ideas,
My heart, the battleground of my life,
Where storms of scepticism rage but faith
stands steadfast,
This, O Saqi ! is the sole treasure of
this faqir,
This makes me rich in poverty.
Bestow it upon my caravan,
For in this bestowal lies its true goal.

از آن آتش که جان من برافروخت
نصیبی ده مسلمان زادگان را [54]

Of the fire which enkindled my life,
Give a taste to the Muslim progeny.

ز سوز این فقیر ره نشینی
بده او را ضمیر آتشینی
دلش را روشن و پاینده گردان
ز امیدی که زاید از یقینی [55]

Of the burning frenzy of this humble *faqir*
Grant him a fiery conscience.
Illumine and immortalize his heart,
With the hope that is born of faith.

The role of a great sage, visionary and guide which he played in the service of the *millat* is eloquently summed up in the following quatrain, which in a sublime spiritual state he thus recited before the Holy Prophet :

حضور ملت بیضا تپیدم
نوای دلگدازی آفریدم

ادب گوید سخن را مختصر گو

تپیدم ، آفریدم ، آرمیدم[56]

I lived restlessly amongst the bright
millat of Islam,

And I produced a heart-melting song.

Veneration demands that I utter
my words in brief :

I agonized, I created, I rested.

5

THE WEST

Iqbal's attitude towards the West is exceedingly critical, unsparing and even ruthless as a whole. He abhorred its materialistic and soulless philosophy of life, its aggressive colonial policy and its distorted values and concepts especially in its dealings with the subject nations of the East. The severity of this critical attitude intensified with the years, and deepened the tone of disgust.

He was himself a product of Western education which had left a deep impact on him. In a letter which he wrote on 2 September 1925 he observed that he had studied Western philosophy most of his life, and consciously or unconsciously, he was inclined to consider even the fundamental matters relating to Islam in the background of Western thought.[1] Nevertheless, this philosophical training gradually lost its hold, and the infinite contrast between the cold discursive reason, symbolic of the Western mind, and the ecstasy born of spiritual experience began to unfold itself to him.

A deep study of Western philosophy and association with its literature, however, continued to find an echo in his works and revealed his profound knowledge of Western thought on the one hand, and his own severely independant and creative outlook on the other. He judged Western thinkers, writers and poets in the light of his own outlook and intuition and even paid glowing tributes to their individual contributions in the realm of thought or art.

Appreciation

Amongst Western philosophers Iqbal showed exceptional fondness for Nietzsche. His own concept of the superman and his

constant stress on action, struggle and power are so close to Nietzsche's philosophy that some critics are prone to trace the impact of the German philosopher on Iqbal who in spite of being an ardent admirer of Nietsche refused to have been influenced by him in the evolution of his thought. Discussing him as a devastating critic of Western civilization and Christian virtues he describes him as a mad man in a glass house :

از سستی عناصر انسان دلش تپید
فکر حکیم پیکر محکم تر آفرید
افگند در فرنگ صد آشوب تازه ای
دیوانهٔ بکارگه شیشه گر رسید[2]

The frail and sluggish in man perturbed the
philosopher in him,
His imagination created a stronger and sturdier
human being.
He sent a hundred and one shock waves across
the West,
A mad man seemed to have rushed into a glass
house.

He regards Nietzsche as a paramount exponent of power, struggle and supremacy, and an iconoclast of conventional beliefs and cherished values. He defines his image as that of a man with a believer's heart but an un-believer's head. In *Javid Namah* Iqbal envisions him as a *majzub* :

آنکه بر طرح حرم بتخانه ریخت
قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است[3]

He who raised an idol temple on the foundation
of the *Haram*,
He has a believers heart and an unbeliever's
head.

He also defines Neitzsche as the symbol of power, hope, action and creativity as against Schopenhauer's message of despair, gloom and pessimism.[4]

Iqbal admires the great German philosopher Kant for revealing the limitations of human reason and dealing a severe blow to the whole work of rationalists. He agrees with the belief that Kant was God's greatest gift to his country.[5]

Another German philosopher Hegel (d. 1831) drew repeated admiration from Iqbal in his youth. He pays Hegel rich tributes in describing his system of philosophy as an epic poem in prose.[6] He again hails him for leading the poet-philosopher into the "inside" of things.[7]

Bergson is another European thinker who has engaged Iqbal's close attention. He has admired both in prose and poetry Bergson's concept of intuition. Again, he has given detailed attention to Bergson's conception of time.[8] He even met the French philosopher in Paris on his return from the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931. While Iqbal has alluded to the views Karl Marx (d. 1883) in brief dialogues in *Payam-i-mashriq*[9] and *Zarb-i-Kalim*,[10] he has described him in *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* as a prophet without a book :

وہ کلیم بے تجلی ، وہ مسیح بے صلیب
نیست پیغمبر و لیکن در بغل دارد کتاب[11]

A Moses without light ; a Christ without cross,
Not a prophet, he yet holds out a book to humanity.

There are many other eminent Western thinkers who have stimulated Iqbal's interest and have been mentioned in his Lectures. His analysis of Western thought reveals his command of the whole history of Western philosophy, both ancient and modern ; while his

assessment of Western philosophers varies from deep appreciation to uncompromising criticism.

Amongst European scientists, Iqbal has devoted a full poem to Einstein (d. 1955) for disclosing the secrets of light in his Theory of Relativity and has named him as a Zoroaster born in the race of Moses.[12]

Amongst Western poets Iqbal is fascinated by Goethe (d. 1832) most. In fact he was inspired to compose *Payam-i-Mashriq* by Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan.* He found in Goethe and the great Persian lyricist Hafiz (d. 791/1389) a common spirit of "earthly delight and heavenly love", and uniformity of simplicity, depth, ardour, latitudinarianism, open-heartedness and freedom from conventions.[13]

Again he has paid Goethe the following homage :

> "Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own."[14]

Along with Hegel, Iqbal has acknowledged his debt to Goethe for leading him into the "inside" of things.[15] He has mentioned him repeatedly in his works with a deep sense of respect and admiration. To Goethe's Faust he has paid the following glowing tribute :

> "This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe out of the chaos of formless matter."[16]

In his preface to *Payam-i-Mashirq* Iqbal has presented a brief yet fascinating and highly thought-provoking survey of the Eastern Movement in German literature with special reference to the Persian influence on a number of German poets and scholars of whom Goethe is the greatest.

Amongst English poets Iqbal was a great admirer of Wordsworth (d. 1850), Shakespeare (d. 1616) and Milton (d. 1674). He pays homage to Wordsworth by saying that he saved him from atheism in his student days.[17] On Shakespeare he has written a full poem in which he acclaims him as the unsurpassed knower of Nature's secrets.[18] Iqbal held Milton in such high esteem that in 1903 he was seriously harbouring the idea of writing in Milton's style.[19] He also pays tributes to Byron (d. 1824) for his frenzied passion and rich imagination ; and especially mentions Browning (d. 1889) amongst eminent poets. Again, he rendered translations in his earliest Urdu collection *Bang-i-Dara* from William Cowper (d. 1800), Emerson (d. 1882), Longfellow (d. 1882) and Tennyson (d 1892). He even showed strong romantic leanings in some of his poems in this collection which were a direct outcome of the romantic movement in European poetry. Amongst other Western poets and writers Iqbal has composed an exquisite short poem on the young Hungarian national poet Petofi, whom he pays glowing tributes for laying down his life in defence of his country ; and epitomized the philosophy of the world famous Russian writer Tolstoi (d. 1910) in *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

Supremacy of Intellect

In the realm of thought, however, Iqbal hastend to move away from cold logic and rationalism to the warmth of spiritual experience. Comparing Kant with Ghazali he remarks, "Kant, consistently with his principals, could not affirm the possibility of a knowledge of God. Ghazali, finding no hope in analytic thought, moved to mystic experience...[20] This metamorphosis in Ghazali appears to be true of Iqbal himself. The more he felt the all-pervasive importance of the world of the spirit, the farther he moved from the philosophy the West, because for him the Western civilization stood for cold intellect shorn of spiritual values and ideals.

Iqbal consistently protests against the supreme role of intellect in Western life. Its intellectual progress is unprecedented while its scientific advancement is phenomenal. It has unleashed massive

forces of nature to conquer the universe. But it has not seen the life within. Thus it is now dangerously exposed to the catastrophic forces which it has let loose with its own hands. The rebellious intellect has dealt a fatal blow to intuition, spiritual values and the supremacy of the human spirit. Our spirit is tarnished, says the poet, and our conscience, thought, verve and ardour are robbed of purity, sublimity and grace :

فساد قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب
کہ روح اس مدنیت کی رہ سکی نہ عفیف

رہے نہ روح میں پاکیزگی تو ہے ناپید
ضمیر پاک و خیال بلند و ذوق لطیف[21]

The Western civilization stands for the
decadence of the heart and the soul,

For its spirit has not guarded its purity.

A soul without purity lacks sanctity of
conscience, sublimity of thought and
elegance of taste.

He repeatedly maintains that the foundation of Western civilization rests exclusively on reason and intellect. The absence of spiritual, religious and moral values and ideals and of the cohesive, guiding force of love has equipped it with incalculable possibilities of destruction and even suicide. The seeker of the pathways of stars, exclaims the poet, has not been able to traverse the world of his own thought. One who arrested the rays of the sun has not been able to turn the dark night of life into dawn :

ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گذر گاہوں کا
اپنے افکار کی دنیا میں سفر کر نہ سکا

جس نے سورج کی شعاعوں کو گرفتار کیا
زندگی کی شب تاریک سحر کر نہ سکا[22]

The infinite progress in the realm of matter has not touched even the outer fringe of the world of the spirit. Hence violence and turbulence have overtaken life and shattered its essential peace and harmony. The might of intellect, says the poet, has suppressed the role of the spirit :

برا نہ مان ذرا آزما کے دیکھ اسے
فرنگ دل کی خرابی خرد کی معموری[23]

Do not take it ill, just put it to the test,
West is the poverty of heart ; and the
affluence of reason.

He lays stress on the infinite distance that lies between the discursive, cold reason and the joy of close contact with and Supreme Reality :

مجھے وہ درس فرنگ آج یاد آتے ہیں
کہاں حضور کی لذت کہاں حجاب دلیل[24]

Those lessons I took in the West come back
to my mind today,
What distance yawns between the joy of
communion and the cover of argument.

According to him while reason signifies distance from Reality the blessings of love and faith bring man close to the Absolute Being. To quote him : "Humanity, needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the Universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe, has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. This is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while

religion has always elevated individuals, and transformed whole societies."[25]

The poet, thus, found philosophy totally inadequate to kindle the fire of life. Later in his life Iqbal had been disillusioned even with Hegel and Burgson ; and compared the former's philosophy with a shell without pearl :

ہیگل کا صدف گہر سے خالی
ہے اس کا طلسم سب خیالی

تو اپنی خودی اگر نہ کھوتا
زناری برگساں نہ ہوتا[26]

Hegel's shell is empty of pearl,
Its charm is a mere illusion.
Had you not parted with your ego,
You would not have been devoted to
Bergson.

He assumed the posture of an iconoclast in the tradition of Abraham to smash distorted values. "I have been thrown into this fire like Abraham," he exclaimed "I know the torments caused by modern intellect" :

عذاب دانش حاضر سے باخبر ہوں میں
کہ میں اس آگ میں ڈالا گیا ہوں مثل خلیل[27]

The sparkling wine stretched out to us by the West, he says, is all sun but it lacks the bliss of the dawn :

قدح خرد فروزی کہ فرنگ داد ما را
ہمہ آفتاب لیکن اثر سحر ندارد[28]

The glistening cup of wisdom which the West
has stretched out to us,
Is all sun and yet bereft of the effect of the
dawn.

The glare of Western knowledge, he says, is superficial. In fact it may be likened to impenetrable darkness which has closed the path to the springs of life.

The lack of spiritual values has degraded the West into a brute force which is liquidating humanity in a planned and systematic manner.[29] The mad race for material gains and political and commercial imperialism is bound to create chaos in the world. This blind passion for exploitation has turned turbid the mainsprings of knowledge, prisoned human environment, polluted the world of thought and strangled the freedom of nations :

مکدر کرد مغرب چشمہ ہای علم و عرفان را [30]

Colonialism

Freedom is the most cherished objective of Iqbal's philosophy of *khudi*. It covers life in its entirety. As such the poet could not compromise with Western domination of any kind, least of all with her outer manifestation of power in the form of a cruel, expanding colonialism. He first raised his voice in low tones but gradually it gathered force and fire. Thus his revolt against colonialism and Western hegemony became one of the major subjects of his poetry. This, as mentioned earlier, starts with a lyric composed in 1907, in which he expresses deep disgust with the encroachment of Western nations upon God's earth and warns them of the ultimately disastrous consequences of such savage freebooting :

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا

تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کرے گی
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا نا پایدار ہوگا[31]

O people of the West ! God's earth is not a shop,
What you are treating as sound will turn out to be
a losing bargain.

Your civilization will commit suicide with its own
dagger,

The nest built on a frail twig will not endure.

The protest ends with an incisive analysis and counter-measures in his last *mathnavi, namely, Pas Chih Bayad Kard.*

From the very begining the poet is poignantly conscious of the colonial suppression and exploitation, but in the early stages he has mainly focussed his attention on the victims of this system and expresses his reactions to colonial barbarities in a restrained and even suppressed tone. At times it is mingled with sobs as in the poem *Fatima bint Abdullah.*[32] Gradually the poet becomes more direct, sharp and outspoken and there is a distinct strain of protest and even revolt in his poems. The challenge to the West is thrown in *Payam-i-Mashriq,* especially, in the exquisite poem *Payam.*[33] It assumes a revolutionary tone in his later works as in poems like *Az Khwab-i-Giran Khiz*[34] in *Zabur-i-'Ajam*— a poem which excels in emotional richness and forceful musical effect— and in some poems of *Zarb-i-Kalim* e.g. *Abyssinia,*[35] which the poet wrote on the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. He treats Western domination with open disdain in *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard.* But even when the poet assumes a rebellious attitude his poems are tempered with the deep instight of a philosopher and the keen perceptions of an artist. Again, these poems usually end on a message of hope and cheer for the oppressed people of the East. In *Javid Namah* the poet has resurrected such outstanding political heroes as Sultan Tippu, Mahdi of the Sudan and Sayyid Jamalud-Din Afghani. Sultan Tippu braved the British onslaught with desperate courage ; and by laying down his life in defence of freedom became an eternal symbol of supreme courage, devotion and sacrifice ; Mahdi successfully stemmed the British military advance in the Sudan ; and Sayyid Jamalud-Din Afghani made frantic efforts to awaken the Muslim *umma* from deep slumber and devoted his whole life to realize the dream of Muslim renaissance. Hence his dauntless stand against imperialism, kingship and clerical obscurantism. These

valiant characters became Iqbal's heroes and he emphasized their momentous role in history in order to inspire his people to put up indomitable resistance against aggression.

League of Nations

The hectic international politics of the 1930s and the ignominious role of the League of Nations had a far-reaching effect on Iqbal's mind; and his attacks became all the more relentless against the Western domination of the world as well as against that august body based in Geneva.

The poet found the League of Nations totally paralyzed under imperialist influence and ridiculed it as a club founded by a few bandits to distribute the shrouds of the dead amongst themselves :

برفتد تا روش رزم درین دیر کہن
درد مندان جہان طرح نو انداختہ اند

من ازین بیش ندانم کہ کفن دزدی چند
بہر تقسیم قبور انجمنی ساختہ اند[36]

In the pious hope of banishing war,
Men whose hearts overflow with human
sympathy,
Have drawn a new plan.
All I know is that a band of shroud stealers,
Have raised a corporate body to divide graves.

This body, he protested, stood for sheer deceit and chicanery, and its entire policy was controlled by gunboat diplomacy.[37] The Italian attack on Ethiopia in 1935 shocked civilized opinion the world over. Iqbal described it as an act of savage aggression. It came as a rude lesson to the downtrodden humanity. But according to the poet weakness excites no pity ; and to expect compassion from the tyrant is sheer folly :

ترا نادان امید غمگساری ها ز افرنگ است
دل شاہین نسوزد بهر آن مرغی که در چنگ است[38]

O naive soul ! do you expect the West to heal
your wounds ?
The heart of the eagle never melts for the bird
held in its clutches.

In a poignant satire on the colonialists, which is blended with cruel humour, he makes the Italian Dictator Mussolini retort to the "naive and innocuous" gentlemen of Europe in the following strain :

"Should the descendants of the Caesars be condemned to the plantation of reed while you ride roughshod even over the arid wastes of the world. You have plundered tents of the destitute desert dwellers. You have grabbed crops of the poor farmers. You have robbed sceptres and crowns. If you looted and exterminated populations in the garb of civilization yesterday, I do it today."[39]

In another poem he lashed at the wanton Italian aggression which had crushed the Ethiopian independence with brutal disregard of human life and moral values, and charges the big powers in the League of Nations with heinous connivance at this crime. How blatantly, he protests, has Rome ravished the honour of the Church. He warns that "the vultures of Europe do not realize how poisonous the carcass of Ethiopia can be :

یورپ کے کرگسوں کو نہیں ہے ابھی خبر
ہے کتنی زہر ناک ابی سینیا کی لاش

اے وائے آبروئے کلیسا کا آئینہ
روما نے کر دیا سر بازار پاش پاش

پیر کلیسیا یہ حقیقت ہے دلخراش[40]

The vultures of Europe still do not realise,
How poisonous is the carcass of Ethiopia.

O how pathetic ! Rome has openly outraged the
honour of the Church,
It is a heart-rending reality,
O the highest of the clerics !

Such unchecked acts of aggression with impunity hastened World War II, and Iqbal's prophetic words came true in a matter of four years. Similarly, the poet raised his voice against the Mandate system introduced by the League of Nations, which was a euphemism for territorial occupation for an indefinite period. Unhappily, the UN also inherited this unenviable tradition in the form of Trusteeship.

Democracy

The relentless colonial exploits of a people who displayed pride in their democratic traditions struck Iqbal with a colossal paradox and led him to deep frustration and cynicism. He lost faith in a democracy which was wedded to political and economic exploitation. He compared such democracy to an old musical instrument which could only produce sickening notes of imperialism. In fact the demon of despotism, he commented, had donned the robes of democracy :

ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری
دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پایکوب
تو سمجھتا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری[41]

The democratic system of the West is the same
old musical instrument,
Which produces no tune except that of imperialism.
The demon of despotism dances in the garb
of democracy,
How naively you believe it to be the fanciful
fairy of freedom.

Much later he observed that a parliament which coveted alien lands was no better than the court of an imperialist ruler. This awful system was bright without but dark within—even darker than the heart of Chengiz :

تو نے کیا دیکھا نہیں مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
چہرہ روشن اندروں چنگیز سے تاریک تر[42]

Havn't you seen the democratic system of the
West ?
Its bright facade hides a dark inside,
Darker than the heart of Chengiz.

In the Labour Government in Great Britian he found nothing but the typical norms of imperialism :

زمام کار اگر مزدور کے ہاتھوں میں ہو پھر کیا
طریق کوہکن میں بھی وہی حیلے ہیں پرویزی[43]

What, if authority is in the hands of the worker,
The ways of the mountain-digging Farhad
reflect the same old guile of Parviz.

Again, he saw in Western democracy a system which laid stress on quantity and numbers rather than on quality and worth. He quotes the French writer Stendhal (d. 1842) according to whom democracy is a system in which men are counted, not weighed :

اس راز کو اک مرد فرنگی نے کیا فاش
ہر چند کہ دانا اسے کھولا نہیں کرتے

جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں
بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تولا نہیں کرتے[44]

This secret was divulged by a man from the
West,
Much though the wise do not expose their
secrets.

Democracy is a system of government
in which men are counted.
They are not weighed.

He was confirmed in his distrust of Western democracy by the unenviable role of England and France in continually expanding their empires and thus throwing their respect for democracy to the winds. He says, "The idealism of Europe" never became a living factor in her life, and the result is perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich."[45]

Nearer home Iqbal perceived that the principle of rule by majority could only ensure permanent suppression of religious minorities, as in India they would always be at the mercy of an absolute majority swayed by religious passions and prejudices. An example of the cruel treatment of Indian Muslims had already been provided by the Congress ministries in Muslim minority province after the implementation of the Government of Indian Act 1935.

The alternative to Western democratic system that Iqbal offered to the Muslims of the world was the spiritual principle of democracy. "Let the Muslim of today" he advised, "appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purposes of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.[46]

It will be interesting to reproduce Iqbal's views on "Muslim Democracy" which he had expressed much earlier in the context of Nietzsche's aristocratic prejudices :

"The Democracy of Europe overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies. Nietzsche, however, abhors this 'rule of the herd' and, hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristorcracy of Supermen. But is the plebeian so absolutely hopeless ? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity ; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being

is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the Ideas of Nietzsche ?"[47]

Materialism

Another discordant note in Western civilization in Iqbal's view is its surrender to rank materialism, which has isolated it from religion and deprived it of the concept of unity and harmony. Western civilization, he says, has become synonymous with materialism and absence of the light of the soul. The flood of a secular, material culture has swept away the right values of knowledge, wisdom and intuition :

علم و فن ، دین و سیاست ، عقل و دل

زوج زوج اندر طواف آب و گل[48]

Science and art ; religion and politics ; intellect
and heart ;
All are dancing attendance on the material
and the mundane.

On the contrary, it has equipped intellect with unfettered freedom to dominate the world of the spirit. "Believe me", he says, "Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement."[49] While in England during the Round Table Conference, Iqbal was invited to address a meeting at Cambridge on 18 November 1931. In the course of his speech he advised the youth to guard themselves against atheism and materialism. He pointed out that the greatest blunder which Europe had committed was to separate the Church from the State, which had deprived it of the spirit of morality and turned its course towards atheistic materialism.[50] A few days earlier he had told a large gathering of English women that it was their paramount duty to save the future generations from rank materialism.[51]

Glamour

The West has made a sweeping impact on the underdeveloped nations of the East. Its material and social glamour has dazled the Eastern nations. The poet feels despondent on the abject surrender of Muslims to the Western values of life In lines of stirring emotion and deep sarcasm he attacks both the religious leader and the West-oriented Muslim when he questions the former for going into deep slumber by the pulpit. Prompt comes the retort from the walls of mosque : "who has been lost to the Western lures ?" :

کہا اقبال نے پیر حرم سے
تہ محراب منبر سو گیا کون
ندا مسجد کی دیواروں سے آئی
فرنگی بتکدے میں کھو گیا کون[52]

Iqbal asked the custodian of the *Haram*,

"Who went asleep by the pulpit of the mosque ?"

Prompt came the answer from the walls of the mosque,

"Who has been lost to the lures of the Franks" ?

Both have lost the track and suffer from pathetic lack of self-confidence, initiative and creativeness.

The destructive trend to imbibe Western influences indiscriminately is not confined to a specific Muslim nation. It has enveloped the whole world of Islam. The Turks, for instance, have separated religion from politics and have failed to appreciate their mutual relationship. Since Turkey has been popularily considered as the citadel of Islam for its momentous role in history, Iqbal has specially focussed his attention on its people. They are treating Europe as their neighbour, he ponders, while the stars in the heavens shine closer to them :

سمجھ رہے ہیں وہ یورپ کو ہم جوار اپنا
ستارے جن کے نشیمن سے ہیں زیادہ قریب[53]

Men who live closer to stars,
Are treating Europe as their neighbour.

Condemning the role of the West with regard to the Arab world the poet has summed up the pathetic situation in two lines. "Syria", he exclaims, "presented an apostle of purity, compassion and humility to the West. The reward has come from the West in the form of liquor, gambling and public women." :

فرنگیوں کو عطا خاک سوریا نے کیا
نبی عفت و غمخواری و کم آزاری

صلہ فرنگ سے آیا ہے سوریا کے لیے
مے و قمار و ہجوم زنان بازاری[54]

Syria blessed the West with the prophet of purity,
sympathy and humility,
Lo ! what reward has come from the West :
Liquor, gambling and women of easy virtue !

The West has not only influenced the way of life of the people of the East, but it has also penetrated into their intuitions and perceptions. The influence stretches from abstract concepts to social norms. The destination of Muslims, he says, lies far beyond the West. It is certainly not the journey's end. He must, therefore, continue the ceaseless search.

In spite of the relentless criticism of most facets of Western life, the poet pays high compliments to the intellectual attainments of the West and to the colossal contribution it has made to human knowledge. What ensures progress, he says, is the brain, not the sartorial fashions : or what makes the West great is its deep vision, quick and ingenious thought and penetrating mind. The phenomenal

rise of the West, he warns the reader, is not due to provocative dress, fashions and dances ; it stems from superior intellect.[55] Nevertheless, he believes that the edifice of Western civilization is built on sand, and it will destroy itself because of its false material values and attitudes and the dehumanizing aspects of its technology. He advocated these views as early as 1907 when he was first in Europe. Later on he repeated them with greater force. The march of history, he warned, was pregnant with dangerous and fierce possibilities, and life was restless to build a new world on the ashes of the old. He saw values crumbling as new forces emerged. He envisioned a supreme revolution on the horizon and wished to impart the thrill of coming events to the reader.[56]

Future

In his later poetry Iqbal did away with subtle and silent protest and he became fiercely outspoken. He described the decline of the West as an undeniable fact of history. It has become a victim of its own hidden pangs, he adds. What appears to be melody in its harp is in fact the plaint of despair :

بیا کہ ساز فرنگ از نوا برافتاد است
درون پردۂ او نغمہ نیست فریاد است[57]

Come ! the musical notes of the West have died
away,
No longer does melody flow from it ; only sobs
are heard.

What looks like twilight on the Western horizon is the stream of blood and promises the rise of a new dawn. The insolent intellect, which has unveiled the forces of nature is now exposed to imminent destruction at its own hands :

وہ فکر گستاخ جس نے عریاں کیا ہے فطرت کی طاقتوں کو
اسی کی بیتاب بجلیوں سے خطر میں ہے اس کا آشیانہ[58]

The refractory thought which has laid bare the forces nature
Is now precariously exposed
To the lightning and thunder of its own creation.

The gods of the seas and land, he claims, have informed him that the West stands in the course of a mighty deluge :

خبر ملی ہے خدایان بحر و بر سے مجھے
فرنگ رہگذر سیل بے پناہ میں ہے[59]

The eyes of the Western people are open but their hearts are dead. Do not expect creative fervour from them now, he counsels his reader, because they are now too barren to create new epoche :

سوز و مستی را مجو از تاک شان
عصر دیگر نیست در افلاک شان[60]

Do not resort to their vineyards for rapture and ecstasy,
Their stars will produce new epochs no more.

He feels gratified that at long last the magical spell of the West has broken in Asia. The secret stratagem of the West lies exposed. The days of capitalism are over. The juggling colonialist has finally made an exit. Old politics stand disgraced. Life has assumed a new role in the East. The slumberous Chinese are shaking off their lethargy ; the Himalayan springs have started gushing forth.[61] He has even gloomier forecast for the European civilization. If the West, he says, is in search of a permanent state of comfort and luxury, it is sadly mistaken. According to him it is already on the verge of grave ; and who knows, he remarks, if this young civilization now struggling for life passes into the hands of the Jews :

ہے نزع کی حالت میں یہ تہذیب جواں مرگ
شاید ہوں کلیسا کے یہودی متولی[62]

This youthful civilization is writhing on its
deathbed,
The Jews may perhaps step in as the new
custodians of the Church.

Addressing the Palestinian Arab he remarks that the remedy of his ills lies neither in Geneva nor in London, because the life-blood of the West itself is in the tight grip of the Jews :

تیری دوا نہ جنیوا میں ہے نہ لندن میں
فرنگ کی رگ جاں پنجۂ یہود میں ہے[63]

Your remedy lies neither in Geneva nor in London,
For the fate of the West is held tight in the grip
of the Jews.

In *Pas Chih Bayad Kard,* which may be regarded as the last sustained parting advice to the people of the East, the poet aims at reawakening them to their immediate responsibilities. He tells them that for their deliverance they must depend as much on their own inherent strength as on their mature judgement. In order to regain their lost glory they must forge a united front against colonialism. Inthis poem published shortly before his death, Iqbal lays down a programme for the suppressed humanity of the East—now known as the Third World. Here, the poet throws a challenge to the West on the one hand and gives a code of honour to the East on the other, with the promise that it will ensure for its people a life of freedom and dignity.

6

IQBAL AND RUMI

Iqbal's works reveal extraordinary love and reverence for the great mystic poet Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, whom he fondly describes as his spiritual mentor and guide. Whenever he speaks of Rumi he does it with a rare intensity of emotion and profound sense of dedication. He has fully imbibed Rumi's influence and considers his thought as a source of inspiration not only for individuals but also for the human civilization as a whole. He finds in Rumi's teachings an answer to the despair and anxiety of the modern world which is desperately in need of hope and enthusiasm regarding man's future. In his lecture on "The Human Ego- His Freedom And Immortality" Iqbal makes the following reference to Rumi's soul-stirring philosophy.

> The world of today needs a Rumi to create an attitude of hope and to kindle the fire of enthusiasm for life.[1]

Iqbal's poetry is dominated by Rumi's image and the spiritual and moral structure of his philosophy and the entire working of his thought processes has derived inspiration and discipline from Rumi whom his English commentator and translator Prof. Nicholson had described in the following words :

> Today the words I applied to the author of the *Mathnawi* thirty-five years ago "the greatest mystical poet of any age" seem to me more than just. Where else shall we find such a panorama of universal existence unrolling itself through Time into Enternity.[2]

Iqbal's association with Rumi grew with the years. A brief account of his references to Rumi in his works, which will reveal the profound devotion he cherished for the great mystic, may be given before tracing the details of Rumi's influence on Iqbal's thought and art.

The earliest reference to Rumi in Iqbal's works is found in his doctoral thesis, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.* He has mentioned him twice to reinforce his arguments. Firstly, he gives the following English translation of two of Rumi's couplets in the context of the Sufi restatement of Islam and the problem of Salvation :

> To win other people's hearts is the greatest pilgrimage ; and one heart is worth more than a thousand Ka'bahs. Ka'bah is mere cottage of Abraham, but the heart is the very home of God.[3]

The second reference also consists of the following English version of two famous couplets of Rumi on love, namely :

شاد باش ای عشق پر سودای ما
ای طبیب جمله علت های ما
ای دوای نخوت و ناموس ما
ای تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما[4]

"O thou pleasantest madness love !
Thou physician of all our ills !
Thou healer of pride,
Thou Plato and Galen of our souls.[5]

In *Stray Reflections* Iqbal has paid the following rich tribute to Rumi :

> To explain the deepest truths of life in the form of homely parables requires extraordinary genius. Shakespeare, Maulana Rum (Jalaluddin) and Jesus Christ are probably the only illustrations of this rare type of genius.[6]

Tributes

His poetical works are replete with glowing tributes to Rumi. When Iqbal presented his philosophy of Self in *Asrar-i-Khudi* he proclaimed that he had been deeply inspired by the great mystic. This book not only reveals the impact of Rumi on Iqbal's thought but also the vital influence of his poetic style. Iqbal had selected the same metre for this work as adopted by Rumi in his monumental *Mathnavi.* This metre was sedulously maintained by Iqbal in all his books composed in the *mathnavi* form. Again, he imported a number of Rumi's verses in *Asrar-i-Khudi* to identify his mode of thought and expression completely with the greatest mystic poet of all time and express his exuberant devotion for him.

Rumuz-i-Bikhudi is epilogued with a couplet of Rumi and the poet has kept up the practice of blending Rumi's verses with his own to register his attachment with his mentor. This strain of implicit homage continues througout the book until it ends with the following verse of Rumi in Iqbal's devotional address to the Holy Prophet :

مسکن یار است و شهر شاه من
پیش عاشق این بود حب‌الوطن[7]

This is the abode of the beloved,
The city of my sovereign.
This is true patriotism in the eyes
of a lover.

In *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iqbal started his homage to Rumi with the following words :

مرشد رومی حکیم پاک زاد
سر مرگ و زندگی بر ما گشاد[8]

Rumi the preceptor, the sublime philosopher,
Revealed to me the secret of life and
death.

He has celebrated Rumi as the lasting symbol of love in his poems *Hikmat va Shi'r*[9], (Philosophy and Poetry) and *Jalal va Hegel*[10] (Jalal and Hegel). While in the former the mystic Rumi has outshone the philosopher Abu Ali Sina (d. 428/1037) for his great spiritual fervour, in the latter Rumi's thought, which is based on intuitive perception, has surpassed Hegel's. In another poem *Jalal va Goethe*[11] (Jalal and Goethe) Iqbal has described Rumi as a person who holds the book though he is not a prophet. Apart from these poems, Iqbal has glorified Rumi in lyrics for his vast and profound vision and his deeply enraptured soul.

This permanent association with Rumi finds its culmination in *Javid Namah* in which the poet has undertaken a journey of the heavens under the initiative and guidance of Rumi, who is to Iqbal what Virgil (d. 19 B.C.) was to Dante (d. 1321) in *Divine Comedy*. The immensity of Rumi's personality and the sublimity of his thought have been portrayed in glowing images in this book and Rumi appears to stand out throughout the journey as a paragon of spiritual glory. Iqbal, the disciple, quotes Rumi's verses and elucidates his thought, highlights his wisdom and vision and celebrates his knowledge of Reality. All this has been accomplished with the feeling of a devotee and the pen of an artist, with the result that Rumi's awe-inspiring image dominates the entire scenario painted in this masterpiece. At the end he imparts the following advice :

پیر رومی را رفیق راه ساز

تا خدا بخشد ترا سوز و گداز[12]

Have Rumi as your guide,
So that God may bless you with
an enraptured soul.

In *Bal-i-Jibril* Iqbal describes himself as an enthusiastic follower of Rumi :

ہم خوگر محسوس ہیں ساحل کے خریدار
اک بحر پر آشوب و پراسرار ہے رومی

تو بھی ہے اسی قافلۂ شوق میں اقبال
جس قافلۂ شوق کا سالار ہے رومی[13]

We are slaves of the world of senses,
Our goal is the shore,
While a tempestuous and mysterious ocean
is Rumi.
O Iqbal ! you also travel in the caravan of
love,
Which move under the command of Rumi.

In this book the poet has made an original attempt to unfold Rumi's views on some vital problems of life in the form of an exciting dialogue between himself and the sage. In questions of paramount importance confined usually to one couplet the poet elicits Rumi's golden response from his *Mathnavi*, again usually in one couplet. The dialogue comprises a treasury of wisdom and philosophy and reveals to the novice the gigantic stature of Rumi's knowledge of life and the universe.

In *Zarb-i-Kalim* the poet holds the reader responsible for his myopic self-awareness to his lack of knowledge of Rumi's sublime poetry :

گسستہ تار ہے تیری خودی کا ساز اب تک
کہ تو ہے نغمۂ رومی سے بے نیاز اب تک[14]

Broken are the chords of the instrument of your
khudi,
For you are still indifferent to Rumi's melody.

In *Musafir* the poet again lays emphasis on the need to drink deep at Rumi's fountain of knowledge as the Muslim divines seem to have been hypnotized by the West :

وقت است که بگشایم میخانهٔ رومی باز
پیران حرم دیدم در صحن کلیسا مست[15]

It is time that I reopened Rumi's tavern,
I have seen the stalwarts of *Haram* gone
typsy in the precincts of the church,

Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ay Aqvam-i-Sharq, a book which breaks the inspiring news of freedom and independence to the poeple of the regions now called the Third world is prologued with a characteristic homage to Rumi :

پیر رومی مرشد روشن ضمیر
کاروان عشق و مستی را امیر[16]

Rumi, the mentor, the master of an
illumined soul,
The leader of the caravan of love and
ecstasy.

Iqbal's posthumous bilingual work *Armaghani-i-Hijaz* contains a number of quatrains dedicated to his spiritual guide. To give one instance :

گره از کار این ناکاره وا کرد
غبار رهگذر را کیمیا کرد

نی آن نی نواز پاک بازی
مرا با عشق و مستی آشنا کرد[17]

He untied the knots of this man worth little,
He transformed the wayside dust into
alchemy,
The flute of that saintly flute-player,
Initiated me into the world of love and
rapture.

Apart from his works, both in poetry and prose, Iqbal has

expressed his deep devotion to Rumi in his private letters. To quote an instance, he writes on 19 March 1935 :

> I have stopped studying books since long. If at all I read either the Qur'an or Rumi's *Mathnavi*.[18]

This state of constant devotion is due to the overwhelming influence of Rumi's enormous spiritual and intellectual stature and his robust, positive, creative attitude towards life. Iqbal was deeply influenced by Rumi's interpretation of life, universe and religion ; man's relations with the Ultimate Reality ; immortality of the human soul and freedom of personality ; negation of pantheism, which had overwhelmed the mystic thought ; man's pivotal role in the universe and Rumi's concept of the perfect man ; predeterminism and freewill, human evolution which embraced the spiritual element, and assured the eternity of the Self as against Darwin's (d. 1882) theory of evolution, based purely on biological facts ; concept of good and evil ; irresistible urge for action ; will to face danger and overcome resistance ; utter disregard of death ; profound humanism ; faith, hope and enthusiasm ; and last but not least the idealization of love as the motive force of life and the main regenerating and cohesive power in the universe.

Harmony

Rumi solved for Iqbal all the problems of the spirit and matter and stood out as a shining collosus of wisdom, purity, fervour and truth. Henceforth he was Iqbal's philosopher, friend and guide in life. His lofty thought and awe-inspiring personality left a lasting impact of Iqbal's dynamic philosophy, and we can discern a close harmony of thought, emotion and even of form in the works of these two great poet-philosophers.

Political Conditions

The similarity begins with a strange resemblance of political and historical conditions which form a background of the philosophy of life presented by them, and has consequently infused their poetry with common motives and ideals. Rumi lived in the turbulent age

when the Mongol Invasion had devastated vast regions of the known world and dealt a staggering blow to Muslim civilization and political power. The unprecedented destruction of human life and values had led to an attitude of defeatism in the Muslim mind and created a deep sense of the futility of human existence and endeavour which encouraged withdrawl and escape from the inexorible realities of life. But the forces of evil and darkness could not repress Rumi's will to survive and reform. In the words of Nicholson Rumi stands out as a "sublime mountain-peak ; the many other poets before and after him are but foot-hills in comparison "[19] He struck a robust note of confidence, hope and courage and refused to be overawed by the tyranny of circumstances. Thus he addressed his people in the following brave, optimistic strain :

تتار اگرچه جهان را خراب کرده به جنگ
خراب گنج تو دارد چرا شوی دل تنگ[20]

The Tatars, beyond doubt, have laid waste
the world,
But ruins promise treasures; so why feel
dismayed ?

Sense of Mission

Rumi had a strong sense of mission. Born in far off Balkh in Khurasan in 604/1207, he had migrated with the family as a young lad of thirteen years to Anatolia in Turkey, then as known as Rum. Much later when he presented his soul-stirring poetic message to the world he reaffirmed before the Almighty his mission of life in such confident tone :

از خراسانم کشیدی تا بر یونانیان
تا بیامیزم بدیشان تا کنم خوش مذهبی[21]

From far off Khurasan you pulled me out unto
the "Greeks",
So that I meet and mix with them and establish
a happy spiritual kinship.

Iqbal faced a similar situation before he decided to dedicate his poetic genius to a great cause. His stay in England and Germany in the first decade of the present century made him painfully conscious of the ruthless materialism of the West on the one hand, and the swift march of imperialism on the other. The Muslim world was passing through a period of political turmoil and decline. Like Rumi, Iqbal refused to be overawed by the gloom which had descended on the world of Islam. On the contrary he returned to his country steeled in the resolve that in the dark of the night he would lead his weary caravan to safety.

Rumi had refused to be daunted by the forces of darkness. Thus he said :

نه شبم نه شب پرستم که حدیث خواب گویم
چو غلام آفتابم همه ز آفتاب گویم[22]

I am neither night nor the worshipper of night
That I should dwell on slumber.
I am devoted to the sun and I talk about the sun.

In the same strain of strong confidence and courage Iqbal spurned night and darkness. He expressed his undeniable belief in the break of dawn which must always follow the night :

من هیچ نمی ترسم از حادثهٔ شبها
شبها که سحر گردد از گردش کوکبها[23]

I least fear the mishaps of the night,
The night must turn into dawn as the stars
move along.

Love

Deeply conscious of their mission, and steeled in their will to fulfil it with a dauntless spirit, they imparted to their people the message of hope, faith and constant action. Both had started as trained philosophers, but both rejected philosophy as the leading light.

Both realized that the guiding star in life was love or intuition and not intellect or discursive reason. Their concept of love, which has a unique resemblance, has been discussed in detail in earlier chapters. To sum up once again, both believe that the power which leads man and gives him strength and inspiration in the mission of life is love. If Rumi looks upon it as the motive force of life and the all-pervading spirit of the universe, Iqbal regards love as the creative and evolutionary principle of all existence. To this mighty, irressistible force life owes its dynamic urge. Both ascribe to love the essential cohesion in the universe. Love, they argue, gives a sense of purpose and fulfilment to man and opens infinite possibilities for self-expression. Through love can man achieve the supreme goal of life, the perfection of the soul and the conquest of the environment. They have both sung of the greatness and glory of love in lines of enduring beauty and hailed it with an intensity of feeling rarely to be met elsewhere.

Both Rumi and Iqbal have analysed the respective significance of love and intellect and found the role of the latter as limited in contrast with the infinite power of love. They contend that intellect can be dangerous if it is harnessed for the fulfilment of the physical and material needs alone. At the same time they acknowledge its importance and agree that it can be blissful if it is in harmony with the callings of love and does not transgress its limits.

Divine Origin of Soul

Rumi believes in the Divine origin of the soul and compares man to a reed which has been separated from the reed-land and is restless to go back to its original home. In this quest, man has to struggle ceaselessly and fight all resistance which Rumi calls evil. But even in its highest moment of the attainment of this goal the human self does not merge in the Ultimate Reality. Rather, it sets as its ideal the complete assimilation of Divine attributes and retains its human character and individuality. He has illustrated this concept by the example of iron which turns red-hot when it is put into the fire and

appears to be a part of it, but which retains its essential individuality in spite of its apparent merger in the fire :

رنگ آهن همچو رنگ آتش است
ز آتشی می لافد و آهن وش است
چون به سرخی گشت همچو زر کان
پس انا النار است لافش بی گمان
شد ز رنگ و طبع آتش محتشم
گوید او من آتشم من آتشم
آتش من گر ترا شک است و ظن
آزمون کن دست را بر من بزن[24]

The colour of iron is merged in the colour
of fire,
It boasts of fieriness though it is iron in
origin.
When in red hue it flamed like the gold
in mine,
It would surely boast, "I am fire".
It has attained splendour in colour and nature,
And says, "I am fire, I am fire,
If you doubt my fire,
Have a try ; touch me with your hand."

Iqbal entirely agrees with his spiritual preceptor on the eternity of the human self, and this belief forms the basis of his philosophy of the self. This concept distinguishes them from the general Sufistic philosophy of *Wahdatu'l-Wujud* or the pantheistic view of the final absorption of the human ego in the cosmic Ego.

Ceaseless Struggle

The realization of the aim of the human ego, however, necessitates constant discipline through incessant activity and ceaseless

struggle. Man has to struggle both on the spiritual and physical plane. He has to fight all evil temptations within and all resistance and opposition without. The greater the man, the stronger is the opposition. That is why, says Rumi, apostles have to fight the toughest battles. Thus, he repeats, enmity becomes a blessing in disguise :

در حقیقت ہر عدو داروی تست
کیمیای نافع و دلجوی تست

زین سبب بر انبیا رنج و شکست
از ہمہ خلق جہان افزون تر است[25]

In reality even enemy is a panacea for you,
He is wholesome gold ; he is a soothing friend,
That is why the apostles of God
Face greater hardships and defeats than the rest of mankind.

Iqbal's philosophy of self also prerequisites the struggle of the self against non-self. Self, according to Iqbal, reaffirms and fortifies itself through confrontation. All hurdles, impediments and resistance against self chastens and strengthens it. He looks upon the enemy as a veritable friend and a blessing of God, because it is only the enemy's challenge which draws out the latent capabilities of man. In saying so he has completely assimilated Rumi's tone :

راست می گویم عدو هم یار تست
هستی او رونق بازار تست

هر کہ دانای مقامات خودیست
فضل حق داند اگر دشمن قویست[26]

To tell you the truth the enemy is also your friend,
His existence enhances your value.

One who understands the position
of self,
Treats the enemy's prowess as the blessing
of God.

Ceaseless strife, therefore, becomes the destiny of man. There is no withdrawl on escape from it. This, again, is a different approach from the general mystical notions of renunciation and quietism. That Rumi disagrees with these concepts is proved by an incident mentioned by one of his biographers, who writes that Sultan Walad, a son of the great mystic, once asked his permission to sit in silent meditation for a period of forty days. Rumi's reply was :

"There is no forty -day devotion and seclusion for the followers of Muhammad (peace be upon him) and it is an unwanted innovation in our faith, though such a practice existed in the religions of Moses and Chirst (peac be upon them). All our efforts are directed towards ensuring the welfare of our kins and friends. No seclusion is called for."[27]

In laying extreme stress on action Iqbal also denounces the monastic way of life. In elucidating the importance of fighting for a holy cause he quotes words of the Holy Prophet in the following verse :

آنکہ حرف شوق با اقوام گفت
جنگ را رہبانی اسلام گفت[28]

He who imparted the message of love to
the peoples of the world,
Described (holy) war as the monasticism
of Islam.

Power and Glory

For Rumi the religion of Islam stands for power and glory. Monasticism, he says, is the Christian way of life :

مصلحت در دین ما جنگ و شکوه
مصلحت در دین عیسیٰ غار و کوه[29]

The best course in our religion is strife
and glory,
In Christianity it is recourse to caves and
mountains.

In a lyric Iqbal emphasizes the inevitable need to attain power for self-protection and self-affirmation in the following musical and allusive style :

عشق به سرکشیدن است شیشهٔ کائنات را
جام جهان نما مجو دست جهان گشا طلب[30]

Love is drinking at one draught the flask
of the universe,
Do not search the world-revealing cup,
demand the world-conquering hand.

In his excessive love for action Rumi even prefers futile activity to sheer sleep and lethargy :

دوست دارد یار این آشفتگی
کوشش بیهوده به از خفتگی[31]

The friend holds the frenzy dear,
Futile effort is worthier than slumber.

In the same way he spurns inaction and quietism as perfidy and describes life as constant struggle. Living on the shore, he observes, is apology for life. Jump into the sea and fight the waves ; for in strife lies the secret of eternal life :

میارا بزم بر ساحل که آنجا
نوای زندگانی نرم خیز است

بدریا غلط و با موجش در آویز
حیات جاودان اندر ستیز است[32]

Do not celebrate life on shore,
Its melody is soft and languid there.
Plunge into the sea and grapple with
waves,
Eternal life is strife and dare.

Again, to illustrate the principle of action and movement the poet presents the following brief dialogue between the shore and the wave which leaves a lasting effect :

ساحل افتادہ گفت گرچہ بسی زیستم
هیچ نہ معلوم شد آہ کہ من کیستم
موجی ز خود رفتہ تیز خرامید و گفت
هستم اگر می روم گر نہ روم نیستم [33]

The lowly bank muttered, "much though
have I lived,
Never did I know who I was",
A frenzied wave flashed past and said,
"I am, if I move; I am not, if I dont".

Predtermination and Freewill

This attitude towards life leads both Rumi and Iqbal to a stimulating interpretation of predetermination and freewill. Adverse circumstances for centuries have led Muslims into a fantastic theory of inaction in the name of predeterminism. Rumi believes that destiny implies certain inexorable and permanent principles of life. We are given a great deal of choice to adjust our action in harmony with these principles. In characteristic fashion he illustrates the point with the wings of a bird. All birds have been given wings. It is a principle that the use of wings will assure flight. But it is up to the bird to use them in whatever way it likes. The hawk uses them with such power as to endear himself to kings. The crow employs them for a hop to the graveyard to fall upon carcass and thus arouse contempt :

بال بازان را سوی سلطان برد
بال زاغان را به گورستان برد[34]

Wings take hawks to the king,
And crows to the graveyard.

The analogy is simple and brief but the impact is tremendous.

Rumi further points out that but for the exercise of choice or freewill there will be no point in commandments and prohibitions enjoined by the Qur'an ; and reward and retribution will lose all meaning.

Iqbal has explained the philosophy of freewill and predeterminism on exactly these lines and has even quoted Rumi's illustration of the birds' wings. This subject recurs in his works with ever greater force, and he vehemently opposes what he calls "the most degrading type of Fatalism (which) has prevailed in the world of Islam for many centuries."[35] According to him the creation of human acts has Divine origin. Each act has been assigned a destiny by God but simultaneously man has been given freedom of choice. If he fails in one act he has the liberty to take recourse to another. In fact there is no end to his choice. By changing himself man changes his destiny. If he becomes meek and lowly as dust he will be blown away by the winds. If he becomes stone he has the power to crush glass. The destiny of dew is to fall ; that of the ocean is eternity :

گر ز یک تقدیر خون گردد جگر
خواه از حق حکم تقدیر دگر

تو اگر تقدیر نو خواهی رواست
زانکه تقدیرات حق لا انتها ست

ارضیان نقد خودی در باختند
نکتهٔ تقدیر را نشناختند

رمز باریکش به حرفی مضمر است
تو اگر دیگر شوی او دیگر است
خاک شو نذر هوا سازد ترا
سنگ شو بر شیشه اندازد ترا
شبنمی ؟ افتندگی تقدیر تست
قلزمی ؟ پایندگی تقدیر تست[36]

If one act of destiny causes the heart
to bleed,
Ask God to ordain for you another
destiny.
If you desire a new destiny, you have
a right to,
Because countless are the destinies
created by God.
People on earth lost the asset of
khudi,
They did not perceive the reality of
destiny.
Its subtle meaning is hidden in a word :
If you change, destiny changes forthwith.
Should you become dust, it will throw
you to winds,
Should you become stone, it will fling
you at glass.
Are you dew ? Your destiny is humility,
Are you ocean ? Your destiny is eternity.

He further says that man builds his own destiny by his creative effort. The ideal of the human ego is to absorb and assimilate the Divine qualities. Creativeness is a divine quality. Thus to be

creative is to absorb this Divine virtue. A man of God, he says, creates his own world :

مرد حق برنده چون شمشیر باش
خود جهان خویش را تقدیر باش[37]

O man of God ! be sharp like a sword,
Be the destiny of your own world.

Iqbal wonders why a believer should protest against acts of destiny and not become destiny himself :

عبث ہے شکوۂ تقدیر یزداں
تو خود تقدیر یزداں کیوں نہیں ہے[38]

It is futile to complain against Divine destiny,
Why are you not the destiny of God yourself ?

Those who rule and sway are men who build their own destiny :

خدا آن ملتی را سروری داد
کہ تقدیرش بدست خویش بنوشت[39]

God bestowed leadership upon the nation,
Which wrote its destiny whith its own hands.

In his Lecture on "The Philosophical test of the Revelations of Religious Experience" Iqbal has made the following enlightening comment on the subject :

> As the Qur'an says : "God created all things and assigned each its destiny". The destiny of a thing then is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master ; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion.[40]

Forward Movement

Rumi and Iqbal both look upon life as a forward, assimilative movement. Rumi is a creative evolutionist and explains his theory of evolution in detail. According to him, man in his process of evolution has covered various stages—inorganic, plant, animal and human, and each stage has marked a step forward. He has kept rising to higher planes. As such, death constitutes merely a step forward into a higher stage. He is, in fact, impatiently looking forward to "holding it in a tight embrace":

مرگ اگر مرد است آید پیش من
تا کشم خوش در کنارش تنگ تنگ[41]

If death is brave and manly let it face me,
So that I may happily hold it in tight embrace.

He believes that in the process of evolution a stage arrives when the will of the human ego and the will of the Supreme Reality become completely identified. Says he:

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم

و ز نما مردم به حیوان سر زدم

مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم
پس چه ترسم که ز مردن کم شوم

حملهٔ دیگر بمیرم از بشر
تا بر آرم از ملائک بال و پر

بار دیگر از ملک قربان شوم
تا چه اندر وهم ناید آن شوم[42]

I died the life of inorganic things and
passed into that of plants,

Thereafter I died the vegetative life and
raised my head in the animal state.
From animal I passed into human life,
So why should I fear that death will
do me harm.
In the next thrust I shall die as man,
And pass into the community of angels.
Thence I shall transcend the angelic state,
And become what is beyond the wildest fancy.

Iqbal also looks upon life as a constant, forward movement treading paths anew and ever rising to higher planes :

حیات ذوق سفر کے سوا کچھ اور نہیں[43]

Life is naught but a relish for journey.

He treats death as an insignificant phenomenon in the life of the ego which is eternal. He has even described death as a game of prey and the human ego as the hunter :

از مرگ ترسی ای زنده جاوید ؟
مرگ است صیدی تو در کمینی
جانی که بخشند دیگر نه گیرند
آدم بمیرد از بی یقینی[44]

Are you afraid of death O you the eternal one ?
Death is a game of prey while you sit in ambush.
Once conferred, life is not taken back,
What kills man is lack of faith.

Death which ends in grave, says Iqbal, is the death of beasts not men. Human self is destined for higher planes and must struggle to rise far above the dust :

بگذر از مرگی که سازد با لحد
زانکه این مرگ است مرگ دام و دد

مرد مومن خواہد از یزدان پاک
آن دگر مرگی کہ برخیزد ز خاک[45]

Leave aside death which puts up with the grave,
Such a death is the death of beasts and animals.
The man of faith wishes from the Holy Lord,
The death wich raises him above the dust.

Human Glory

Rumi and Iqbal both sing of human glory. They have unshakable faith in man's hidden possibilities. Both have developed a concept of the perfect man. The verses quoted above which depict Rumi's philosophy of evolution suggest the super-angelic powers he associates with man. In another couplet he describes man's sublime role with still greater emphasis, clarity and directness :

ما ز فلک برتریم ، وز ملک افزون تریم
زین دو چرا نگذریم منزل ما کبریا ست[46]

We are superior to skies ; higher than angels,
Why shouldn't we leave behind these two,
Our destination is the Exalted, the Almighty.

Rumi's concept of the perfect man has been described already in verses which reflect the poet's restless desire for the ideal super-man.

Iqbal looks upon this perfect man as one who can entrap the Archangel and even dare to confront the Almighty :

در دشت جنون من جبریل زبون صیدی
یزدان بہ کمند آور ای ہمت مردانہ[47]

Gabriel is but a meek prey in my desert of mad exploits,
O manly courage ! let God be your next target.

Such a noble being is bound to rise above the moon and the sun and play the pivotal role in the universe. Iqbal visualizes for his perfect man a status which will secure him dominance over the heavenly bodies :

مقدر است کہ مسجود مہر و ماہ باشی
ولی ہنوز ندانی چہا توانی کرد[48]

You are destined to be the idol of the sun and the moon,
But your latent possibilities have not yet dawned upon you.

He believes in the vicegerency of man on earth and conceives him to be the master of time and space when he says :

نائب حق در جہان بودن خوش است
بر عناصر حکمران بودن خوش است

نائب حق ہمچو جان عالم است
ہستی او ظل اسم اعظم است

زندگی را می کند تفسیر نو
می دہد این خواب را تعبیر نو[49]

It is delightful to be God's vicegerent in the world,
It is great to rule over the elements.
The vicegerent of God is the spirit of the universe,
His being is the shadow of the Greatest Name.
He provides a new version to life,
And gives a new interpretation to this dream.

In fact Iqbals' works are replete with striking examples of the glorification and idealization of man.

Rumi's perfect man does not confine himself to geographical limits and has a vast, unified view of humanity :

گفتم : ''زکجائی تو'' تسخر زد و گفت : ''ای جان
نیمیم ز ترکستان ، نیمیم ز فرغانہ''[50]

I asked him, "where do you come from ?"
He mocked at me and said "O dear,
I am half from Turkistan and half from
Farghana".

In the same strain Iqbal celebrates his ideal man as one who is not bound by narrow territorial, racial or national prejudices :

درویش خدا مست نہ شرق ہے نہ غربی
گھر میرا نہ دلی نہ صفاہاں نہ سمرقند[51]

The God-loving *dervish* belongs neither to
the east nor to the west,
My home is neither Delhi, nor Isfahan,
nor Samarqand.

Both the great philosopher-poets were fully conscious that by their powerful, life-inspiring message they had helped create a new spirit and a fresh attitude of hope and confidence amongst their dependent people. Said Rumi :

ما دل اندر راہ جان انداختیم
غلغلہ اندر جہان انداختیم[52]

We dedicated our heart to the cause of
the spirit,
And created an uproar in the world.

This triumphant sense of magnificent contribution never left Iqbal, and repeated references have already been made to it. To reproduce one instance :

پس از من شعر من خوانند و در یابند و می گویند
جہانی را دگر گون کرد یک مرد خود آگاہی[53]

Afte I am gone, people will read my poetry,
Discover its meaning and say :

A man conscious of his self changed the
colour of a whole world.

Sense of Loneliness

A rather strange element of close affinity between Rumi and Iqbal is a haunting sense of loneliness. Both gave a positive philosophy of life to their people and tried to sweep away the clouds of gloom with the ardent spirit of a missionary, but both had an unhappy feeling that they had not been properly understood. Rumi pensively mused :

هر کسی از ظن خود شد یار من
از درون من نہ جست اسرار من[54]

Everyone became my friend according to
his own whim,
But did not search the secrets of my heart.

This aspect of unfilfilment also distressed Iqbal. It was expressed with intense agony in *Asrar-i-Khudi* when he first presented his philosophy of the self, and this pursued him till the end when in a moment of frustration he was driven to complain :

و لیکن کسی نہ دانست این مسافر
چہ گفت و با کہ گفت و از کجا بود[55]

But no one knew what this traveller said,
Whom he addressed and where he had come
from !

Expression

Iqbal not only imbibed Rumi's thought but also his mode of expression in his Persian poetry, especially, in *mathnavis*. He freely borrowed Rumi's lines, phrases, epithets and allusions in his poetry with such sedulousness and spontaneity that they appeared to have become a part and parcel of Iqbal's own works. He was

equally successful in reincarnating Rumi's mood and tone, and affect a total unity of spirit, thought, and emotion. For him what Rumi said was final. Once in reply to criticism on certain rhymes in *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he wrote back that apart from other factors he had come across countless instances of this type in Rumi's *mathnavi*. Even in his *ghazals*, where the influence of Hafiz is dominant, Iqbal has not forgotten Rumi's style and composed many lyrics on his metric patterns. Besides, they are marked with the same ecstasy of spirit, sense of boundless freedom and intensity of emotion. Both proclaimed indifference to the modalities of art. Rumi mainly created the entrancing effect of his poetry by a state of deep spiritual fervour. Iqbal's disinterestedness in poetry as an art has already been discussed. But after this unity of approach towards the poetic art by these two greatest of poets a clear line of demarcation may be drawn between the two. While Rumi was often completely swept away by too immense an emotion to pay heed to the artistic perspective, Iqbal usually struck harmony between form and spirit and gave his poetry a triumphant sense of splendour. In his lyrics he reincarnates the beauty and loveliness of Hafiz, while in other forms of verse also his vast aesthetic resources and virtuosity secure for many of his artistic creations a pride of place amongst the most exquisite specimens of poetry. Not only that, he has introduced fresh genre and norms in some of his works, namely, *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, which entitle him to an eminent place amongst the pioneers of modern Persian poetry.

7

IQBAL AND SANAI

Sanai is the first great Sufi poet of Persian language who set the tradition of presenting mystical thought in *mathnavi* form. As such he is the forerunner of 'Attar and Rumi who developed their genres on the pattern of Sanai's famous *mathnavi*, *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqat*. Rumi had even the humility to say :

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او
ما از پی سنائی و عطار آمدیم[1]

'Attar was the spirit and Sanai its two eyes,
I came after Sanai and 'Attar.

And again :

ترک جوشی کرده ام من نیم خام
از حکیم غزنوی بشنو تمام[2]

Immature as I am, I have dabbled in the subject,
I have not cooked the meal enough,
For full account listen to the philosoher of
Ghazna.

Sanai has inspired other poets too. Khaqani (d. 595/1199) claimed to be Sanai's successor in the following line :

چون فلک دور سنائی در نوشت
آسمان چون من سخن گستر بزاد[3]

When the sky rolled up Sanai's epoch,
It produced a poet like me.

Nizami Ganjavi (d. 614/1117) also composed his *Makhzanu'l-Asrar* in emulation of *Hadiqatul-Haqiqat.*

Apart from Rumi, Iqbal has admired many Persian poets and accepted the influence of some of them in thought or expression. Amongt these, he has not only paid tributes to Sanai in open words, but has also revealed a marked identity of thought and emotion with the great mystic poet. There are direct references to Sanai in various works of Iqbal, namely, *Musafir*, *Bal-i-Jibril*, *Zarb-i-Kalim* and *Armaghan-i-Hijaz.*

The closest contact with Sanai, however, is established in *Musafir*, in which Iqbal has given an account of his visit to Afghanistan in 1933 at the invitation of King Nadir Shah. The poet travelled right up to Ghazni to pay homage to the sage. In his account of the visit Iqbal draws a close parallel between himself and Hakim Sanai in the following words :

آن حکیم غیب آن صاحب مقام
"ترک جوش" رومی از ذکرش تمام

من ز پیدا او ز پنهان در سرور
هر دو را سرمایه از ذوق حضور

او نقاب از چهرهٔ ایمان گشود
فکر من تقدیر مومن وا نمود

هر دو را از حکمت قرآن سبق
او ز حق گوید من از مردان حق[4]

That philosopher of the unseen, that personage
of high stature,
Whose account turned Rumi's "trifle" into a
masterpiece.

I shared the exhilaration in this world which
was his in the world unseen,

Both of us exulted in the joy of presence.

He had removed veil from the face of
faith,

My thought has revealed the destiny of the
faithful.

Both of us have drunk deep at the wisdom
of the Qur'an,

His subject is Truth, mine is the men of
Truth.

Similarity

The similarity is striking. Both exult in the joy of spiritual experience. While Sanai, says Iqbal, reveals the hidden beauty of faith, his own thought lays bare the destiny of the faithful. Both derive their inspiration from the Qur'an. While Sanai talks about God, the Ultimate Truth, Iqbal concerns himself with the men of God. With his characteristic humility, Iqbal beseeches the sage for a message to fight the tyranny of the age, offensive nationalism and Western imperialism on the one hand, and disarray and schism in the ranks of the faithful on the other. This is rather significant, because Sanai himself was painfully conscious of the evils of his own times and believed that he had a vital message for his age. After imploring him for a message, Iqbal speaks out his own mind on the subjects like *faqr*, sovereignty, love, religion, materialism, spiritualism and the rise of a new Adam ; and ends his messages on the inevitable characteristic note of hope and cheer. One of Iqbal's outstanding poems in *Bal-i-Jibril* has been composed on the model of Sanai's famous *Qasida Dar Maqam-i-Ahl-i Tauhid* which opens with the following line :

مکن در جسم و جان منزل کہ این دون است و آن والا
قدم از ہر دو بیرون نہ اینجا باش و نہ آنجا[5]

Do not seek abode in the body or the soul,
For the former is low and the latter is exalted,
Step out of both, stay neither here nor there.

Iqbal's poem, which is preluded with an acknowledgement of Sanai's inspiring poem begins with the following couplet :

سما سکتا نہیں پہنائے فطرت میں مرا سودا
غلط تھا اے جنوں شائد ترا اندازۂ صحرا[6]

Nature in its vastness cannot contain my
frenzied passion,
O madness ! your guess of the desert was,
perhaps, not true.

And the poet ends his poem again with a tribute to Sanai's profound thought :

سنائی کے ادب سے میں نے غواصی نہ کی ورنہ
ابھی اس بحر میں باقی ہیں لاکھوں لولوئے لالا[7]

I did not dive into the literary wealth of Sanai,
There still float myriads of glistening pearls in
this ocean.

In *Zarb-i Kalim* Iqbal has described an imaginary meeting in the heavens between Sanai and Rumi in which the former, on a word from Mansur-i Hallaj, pleasantly suprises Rumi with the tidings of a new iconoclast in the East who, at long last, has divulged the secret of the Self :

فردوس میں رومی سے یہ کہتا تھا سنائی
مشرق میں ابھی تک ہے وہی کاسہ وہی آش

حلاج کی لیکن یہ روایت ہے کہ آخر
اک مرد قلندر نے کیا راز خودی فاش[8]

Sanai told Rumi in the paradise,
"The East still lives on the same cup and pottage,
But Hallaj has given me the tidings,
That at last a calender has divulged the secret of the self.

Iqbal's infatuation with Sanai lasted all his life. In his posthumous work *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* the poet has prayed to God to grant him Sanai's virtues of truth and sincerity :

عطا کن سوز رومی شور خسرو
عطا کن صدق و اخلاص سنائی[9]

Bestow upon me the fire of Rumi and the ardour of (Amir) Khusrau,
Bestow upon me the truth and sincerity of Sanai.

Gospel of Love

The striking similarity between some of the fundamental ideas of Iqbal and Sanai begins with their glorification of the gospel of love. For Sanai, spiritual experience is the guiding light which reveals the mystery of life. He was one of the first sufi poet who decried discursive reason as an uncertain means of true knowledge of the universe and believed in love as the only way to perceive Reality. He scorns pure reason as a poor guide, even blind, in its voyage of discovery, which only leads to astonishment and stupefication :

عقل مانند ماست سر گردان
در ره کنه او چو ما حیران

بہ دلیلی عقل راہ نبری
خیرہ چون دیگران مکن تو خری

چون تو در علم خود زبون باشی
عارف کرد گار چون باشی[10]

Reason is confounded like us,
And is likewise stupefied in pondering over the nature of Reality.
You cannot tread your way under reason's guidance,
Do not confuse your mind like others.
When you are poor in knowledge,
How can you comprehend the Creator?

Again :

عقل در کوی عشق راه نبرد
تو ازان کور چشم چشم مدار
کی توان گفت سر عشق بہ عقل
کی تو ان سفت سنگ خارا بہ خار[11]

Reason cannot lead in the lane of love,
Do not pin your hopes on that blind one.
How can the secret of love be conveyed to reason,
How can a hard stone be pierced with a thorn?

Role of Reason

However, the poet would concede a substantial role to reason in probing the mystery of the universe provided it could blend itself with the emotion of life and respond to the callings of the heart :

نیست از بہر آسمان ازل
نردبان پایہ بہ ز علم و عمل

بهر بالا و شیب منزل را
حکمت جان قوی کند دل را[12]

No means are better to climb the eternal
heaven,
Than the ladder of precept and practice.
The knowledge of the spirit fortifies the
heart
To face the high and low of the
destination.

He is aspiring for the same *hikmat-i-jan* when he warns against the dangers of knowledge equipped with the mundane passions of life :

چو علم آموختی از حرص آنگه ترس کاندر شب
چو دزدی با چراغ آید گزیده تر برد کالا[13]

When you have acquired knoledge, beware of greed,
For if a thief comes with lamp in hand,
He carries away the choicest goods.

Reason or intellect must in any case subordinate itself to the all-pervading influence of love to play its destined role in life :

عقل دائم رعیت عشق است
جان سپاری حمیت عشق است[14]

Intellect is always subservient to love,
Love is honour-bound to lay down life.

Sanai's concept of love has assumed vast dimensions in Rumi and Iqbal's system of thought. But the essentials are the same. Love is the guiding force of life. Discursive reason, on the other hand, is doomed to perpetual scepticism and failure. According to Iqbal :

عقل در پیچاک اسباب و علل
عشق چوگان باز میدان عمل

عقل را سرمایه از بیم و شک است
عشق از عزم و یقین لا ینفک است[15]

If Sanai believes :

عقل را تدبیر باید عشق را تدبیر نیست
عاشقان را عقل تر دامن گریبان گیر نیست[16]

Reason needs device, love needs none,
Lovers are not pestered by the polluted reason.

Iqbal repeats the same idea :

نشان راه ز عقل ہزار حیلہ مپرس
بیا کہ عشق کمالی ز یک فنی دارد[17]

Do not seek guidance from reason which is
equipped with a thousand artifices,
Come, love owes its excellence to a single art.

If Sanai assigns a special position to reason and knowedge and wishes it to be fortified with *hikmat-i-jan*, Iqbal also holds that reason by its righteous conduct is able to see beauty in all its original glory ; only it lacks the desperate courage. As qusoted earlier :

عقل ہم عشق است و از ذوق نگہ بیگانہ نیست
لیکن این بیچارہ را آن جرأت رندانہ نیست[18]

Reason is also love and no stranger to the delight
of vision,
But woe to it, the poor one is wanting in dash
and courage.

Therefore, like Sanai, he proposes that reason should subject its activity to the dictates of love.

Vital Mission

Sanai and Iqbal both believe in man's vital mission of the conquest of the universe. Sanai has ardently described man's ultimate goal as far beyond the low earth. He is a constant traveller on celestial paths unknown ; the moon is only the next stage :

ای قوم ازین سرای حوادث حذر کنید
خیز ید و سوی عالم علوی سفر کنید
یکسر بپای همت ازین دامگاه دیو
چون مرغ بر پرید و مقر بر قمر کنید[19]

O people ! shun this abode of accidents,
Arise and travel to the world sublime.
With one powerful thrust be on the wing
like a bird,
Leave this snare-land of the demon,
And choose your abode on the moon.

The poet visualizes man's victory over the entire cosmic phenomenon and describes his mastery of the universe with excited joy and pride :

زین سپس دست ما و دامن دوست
بعد ازین گوش ما و حلقهٔ یار
چرخ و اجرام چاکران تواند
تو از یشان طمع مدار مدار
حلقه در گوش چرخ و انجم کن
تا دهندت به بندگی اقرار[20]

Henceforth we shall foster closest intimacy
with the Friend,
Henceforth our ear shall wear the ring
of the Beloved's servitude.
The sky and the planets are in your
bondage,
Do not covet favour from them.
Put the ring of slavery in the ears of the
sky and the stars,
So that they pronounce obeisance to
you.

Iqbal is fascinated by Sanai's sublime thought and picturesque imagery. The idea of soaring in the heavens recurs in his works with ever greater stress and ardour. To give a few instances :

ز جوی کہکشاں بگذر ، ز نیل آسماں بگذر
ز منزل دل بمیرد گرچہ باشد منزل ماہی[21]

Go beyond the Milky way, and beyond
the blue sky,
Permanent abode kills the heart, even if it
be the abode of the moon.

بیرون قدم نہ از دور افلاک
تو پیش از ینی تو بیش از ینی[22]

Step out of the celestial sphere,
You are superior to it ; you are greater far.

کارواں تھک کر فضا کے پیچ و خم میں رہ گیا
مہر و ماہ و مشتری کو ہم عناں سمجھا تھا میں[23]

The caravan felt exhausted and was lost in the
labyrinth of space,
How erroneously had I looked upon the
sun, the moon and the Jupiter as
my comrades.

Man's superiority in the universe is one of the fundamental points of Iqbal's thought. In *Rumuz-i-Bikhudi* he lays down the conquest of the universe as an essential prerequisite for full expression of the collective personality of the *millat*. The words and the style employed here have a striking resemblance with Sanai's above-mentioned lines. Iqbal says :

ثابت و سیارهٔ گردون وطن
آن خداوندان اقوام کہن

این ہمہ ای خواجہ آغوش تو اند
پیش خیز و حلقہ در گوش تواند[24]

The stationary and revolving elestial
bodies,
Those gods of ancient nations,
O sire ! these are all your unquestioned
attendants and slaves.

Not only have stars and planets been declared as man's servile agents, but also the same vocabulary and imagery as employed by Sanai have been reproduced. Iqbal's line :

این ہمہ ای خواجہ آغوش تو اند

Appears to be an inspired paraphrase of Sanai's :

چرخ و اجرام چاکران تو اند

Both Sanai and Iqbal have pointed out the hazards which lie between man and his ideal. Seldom does a man of destiny achieve it. Sanai has expressed this concept in a string of metaphors and allusions which culminate in the following rare exceptions:

سالہا باید کہ تایک سنگ اصلی ز آفتاب
لعل گردد در بدخشان یا عقیق اندر یمن

قرنہا باید کہ تا یک مرد حق پیدا شود
بایزید اندر خراسان یا اویس اندر قرن[25]

It requires years before the sun turns a
real stone into a ruby in Badakhshan
or an agate in Yemen.
It needs centuries before a man of God
is born,
A Bayazid in Khurasan or an Uwais
in Qaran.

Iqbal supports Sanai's concept with still greater force and conviction :

عمر ہا در کعبہ و بتخانہ مینالد حیات
تا ز بزم عشق یک دانای راز آید برون[26]

For ages life bewails in Ka'ba and the
idol-temple,
Before a knower of the secret
Emerges from the sanctuary of love.

Lack of Fulfilment

This rare realization of the ideal dismays both the poets with a feeling of unfulfilment and inadequacy. Both suffer from an acute sense of loneliness and lack of the ideal man. In Sanai this sense of loss takes the following shape :

ای سنائی عاشقان را درد باید درد کو
بار حکم نیکوان را مرد باید مرد کو

از برای انس جان اندر میان انس و جان
یک رفیق و ہم سرشت و ہمدم و ہمدرد کو

در زوایای خرابات از چنان مردان هنوز
چند گوئی مرد هست و مرد هست آن مرد کو

ز آتش و آب و ز باد و خاک ایشان یاد گار
یک فروغ و یک نسیم و یک نم و یک گرد کو[27]

O Sanai, a lover must be imbued with
agony,

Where is that agony ?

A man must bear the burden of the
Command the beautiful,

Where is that man ?

For the cultivation of a spiritual bond
amongst God's vast creation of
mankind and genii,

Where shall we find a comrade, an
associate, a friend ?

How long will you go on repeating that
such a man exists in desolate corners,

Where is the man ?

Where is even one flash, one whiff of
breeze, one moist breath, one particle
of dust,

That reminds of such men in the four
elements—

Fire, water, air and earth ?

Iqbal has expressed equally wistful cravings for a companion who could share his lofty ideas and come up to his ideals. In his prayer in *Asrar-i- Khudi* he thus opens his heart :

شمع را تنها تپیدن سهل نیست
آه یک پروانهٔ من اهل نیست

انتظار غمگساری تا کجا
جستجوی راز داری تا کجا

من مثال لالۂ صحرا ستم
درمیان محفلی تنہا ستم

خواهم از لطف تو یار همدمی
از رموز فطرت من محرمی

همدمی دیوانۂ فرزانۂ
از خیال این و آن بیگانۂ[28]

It is no fun for the candle to throb alone,
Alas ! there is not one deserving moth
around me.
How long shall I wait for a friend who
shares my sorrows.
How long shall I seek a confidant ?
Like a tulip in the desert,
I am alone amidst associates.

I crave your benevolence for the company
of a loving friend,
A confidant who knows the subtleties
of my nature,
A comrade who is full of mad ardour
and wisdom,
One who is alien to petty thoughts.

Eternity of Soul

Both Sanai and Iqbal stress the eternity of the soul and have scant respect for death. They treat it as a mere pause in the dynamic

process of life. Sanai is stirred by the approach of death with a sense of delight and fulfilment :

تو روی نشاط دل آنگاه به بینی
که از مرگ رویت شود زعفرانی[29]

You will meet your heart's delight,
When death turns your face into saffron.

Iqbal strikes the same note when he welcomes death with a smile :

نشان مرد حق دیگر چه گویم
چو مرگ آید تبسم بر لب او ست[30]

Should I reveal to you the sign of a true
man of God ?
When death comes there is smile on his
face.

Both regard death as the gate to eternity and welcome it as the beginning of a higher and fuller life. Sanai says :

بمیر ای حکیم از چنین زندگانی
کزین زندگانی چو مردی بمانی

بدان عالم پاک مرگت رساند
که مرگ است دروازهٔ آن جهانی

و زین کلبهٔ جیفه مرگت رهاند
که مرگ است سرمایهٔ زندگانی[31]

O wise man ! bid farewell to this life,
You will live a life eternal when this
life comes to an end.
Death will lead you to that holy world,
For death is a gate unto it.
Death will deliver you from this cell
of stink,
For death is the essence of life.

Iqbal expresses precisely the same reaction to death :

بندۂ آزاد را شانی دگر
مرگ او را میدهد جانی دگر

مرد مومن خواهد از یزدان پاک
آن دگر مرگی که برگیرد ز خاک[32]

The free man acquires a new significance,
Death gives him a new soul.

The man of faith wishes from the Lord Sublime,

The death which raises him above the dust.

Tasawwuf

Sanai and Iqbal have a remarkably identical approach towards *Tasawwuf*. Iqbal firmly rejects all mystical theories like neo-Platonism which run counter to the Islamic concept of a dynamic and creative life. He is very clear on this point, and in one of his letters he has defined mysticism as "discovering the ultimate source of the religious law within the depth of one's own consciousness." And he has repeated this in his Lectures in another context. Again he emphasises :

پس طریقت چیست ای والا صفات
شرع را دیدن به اعماق حیات[33]

So what is the mystic path, O man of exalted qualities ?

It is to perceive *shar'* in the depths of life.

Iqbal is intolerant of a system which encourages a life-avoiding attitude of mind. Sanai anticipates Iqbal by his exclusive devotion to religious law and subordinating mystical experience to dictates of

religion. His attitude towards mysticism is amply revealed in the following couplet :

ز راه دین توان آمد به صحرای نیاز آری

به معنی کی رسد مردم گذر نا کرده بر اسما[34]

Only through the path of religion can one
step into the desert of humility,
How can a person arrive at substance without
passing through words.

And again :

چو جان از دین قوی کردی تن از خدمت مزین کن

که اسپ غازی آن بهتر که با برگستوان بینی[35]

When you have fortified your soul with
religion
Equip your body with service,
For it is more befitting to see a battle-horse
in full armour.

This attitude is radically different from that of his successor 'Attar, who as an implacable advocate of *Wahdatul-Wujud* would say :

لب دریا همه کفر است و دریا جمله دینداری

و لیکن گرهر دریا ورای این و آن باشد[36]

The shore is all unbelief while the sea is
all faith,
But the pearl in the sea is beyond the two.

Iqbal has succinctly communicated Sanai's point of view in a dialogue with the latter during his visit to the saint's tomb in Ghazni in the following words :

دل ز دین سر چشمهٔ هر قوت است

دین همه از معجزات صحبت است

دل مجو اندر کتب ای بیخبر

علم و حکمت از کتب دین از نظر[37]

The heart by virtue of religion is the source of all power,

Religion stems from the miracle of company.

O you ignorant one ! do not seek religion in books,

Books beget science and knowledge : but vision begets religion.

Love for the Holy Prophet

Another common factor in their thought is their profound love for the Holy Prophet of Islam. Iqbal's poetry bears an eloquent testimony to this boundless devotion. Whenever he speaks of the Holy Prophet he does so with a rare sense of dedication and love expressed in lines of lasting loveliness and grandeur. Sanai has also composed a number of poems in love and glorification of the Holy Prophet. It is in view of this fact that Iqbal has made Hakim Sanai convey the following message to Muslims :

مومنان زیر سپهر لاجورد

زنده از عشق اند و نی از خواب و خورد

می ندانی عشق و مستی از کجا ست

این شعاع آفتاب مصطفیٰ ست

زنده ای تا سوز او در جان تست

این نگه دارندهٔ ایمان تست[38]

The faithful under the azure sky,
Live through love, and not through
sleep and food.
Don't you know where love and
ecstasy come from ?
These are the rays of the sun of the
Holy Prophet.
You can live as long as your soul is
astir with his love,
This glance sustains your faith.

Expression

In the field of expression and technique Sanai has left some mark on Iqbal's poetry. A comparative study of the two poets reveals some interesting common features. At least two of Iqbal's lyrics can be quoted as an instance. They reveal not only Sanai's influence on form, but also on the poet's mood and emotion. One of Iqbal's *ghazals* partly reads as follows :

خوشتر ز هزار پارسائی
گا می بطریق آشنائی

در سینهٔ من دمی بیاسای
از محنت و کلفت خدائی

آن چشم محرمانه یاد آر
تا کی به تغافل آزمائی[39]

A thousand times more pleasant than
abstinence,
Is a step on way to intimacy.
To save yourself the toil of Godhead,
Rest in my heart for a moment.
Bring back to memory those intimate
glances,
How long will you test the lovers'
patience with indifference ?

Sanai's *ghazal* opens with the following couplets :

ای جان و جهان من کجائی
آخر بر من چرا نیائی

ای قبلهٔ حسن و گنج خوبی
تا کی بود از تو بیوفائی[40]

Where are you O darling of my soul
And the world of my hopes ?
Wherefore do you not come into my lap ?
O the centre of all beauty and treasure of grace !
How long will you act so faithlessly ?

Iqbal has followed the same metre and the same delicate cadence. It is soft, slow and slumberous as in case of Sanai. Iqbal's line :

تا کی بہ تغافل آزمائی

seems to be a paraphrase of Sanai's :

تا کی بود از تو بیوفائی

Similarly the desire assailing Iqbal's heart :

در سینهٔ من دمی بیا سای

is not very different from Sanai's wistful yearning :

آخر بر من چرا نیائی

Both the lyrics are characterized by the same wistful charm, deep listlessness and a poignant emotion. But whereas Iqbal has meticulously specified the beloved, Sanai, one of the forerunners of symbolism in Persian poetry, has preferred to be ambiguous.

The other two lyrics are infused with an altogether different spirit. Their rapid music and rhythmic precision are in harmony with the force and passion of their themes. Here are a few verses from Sanai :

چون رخ بسراب آری ای مہ بشراب اندر
اقبال گیا روید در عین سراب اندر

ما گر تو شدیم ای جان نشگفت کہ در قوت
دراج عقابی شد چون شد بہ عقاب اندر

ای جوهر روح ما درهم شده با عشقت
چون بوی بباد اندر چون رنگ بہ آب اندر

شعری بسجود آمد اشعار سنائی را
هرگہ کہ تو بسرائی شعرش بہ رباب اندر[41]

O moon ! when you set out for the mirage
in a flush of drunkenness,
Vegetation grows luxuriantly even in the
mirage.
If I have become you O sweetheart, it is
no surprise,
Because the partridge turns into an eagle
when it becomes a part of the eagle.
O ! the essence of our soul is as mixed
with your love,
As scent with the breeze,
As colour with the water.
The Sirius would prostrate before Sanai's
Muse,
Were you to sing his verse on rebec.

And here is a selection from Iqbal's lyric :

ترسم که تو میرانی زورق به سراب اندر
زادی به حجاب اندر میری به حجاب اندر

بر کشت و خیابان پیچ بر کوه و بیابان پیچ
برق که به خود پیچد میرد به سحاب اندر

بیدرد جهانگیری آن قرب میسر نیست
گلشن به گریبان کش ای بو به گلاب اندر

این صوت دلاویزی از زخمهٔ مطرب نیست
مهجور جنان حوری نالد به رباب اندر[42]

I fear you are rowing the boat in a mirage,
In ignorance of reality were you born and
so will you die.
Twist around fields and flowers,
Twist around mountain and desert,
The lightning which twists round litself
perishes in clouds.
The cherished nearness is not possible
without a craze for conquest,
O scent in the rose-water ! pull the garden
unto your bosom.
This sweet sound is not the product of the
musician's plectrum,
A houri forsaken from the paradise
Is bemoaning her loss in the rebec's notes.

While Sanai's *ghazal* rings with exuberant emotion Iqbals's lyric presents a blend of thought and emotion. On a close study the two

poems reveal some exceedingly interesting features. Sanai sings of the beauty and glory of love and Iqbal of the power and immensity of the self. However, both agree on self-expression in a big way. Sanai's phrase *Jauhar-i ruh* comes close to Iqbal's favourite term *khudi* although he has himself defined it as *Jauhar-i ishq*. The proximity, however, is highly significant :

جوہر زندگی ہےعشق جوہر عشق ہے خودی

آہ کہ ہے یہ تیغ تیز پردگی نیام ابھی[43]

Love is the essence of life. And *khudi*
is the essence of love,
Alas this sharp sword is still hidden
in sheath.

Apart from this striking inter-relationship drawn between love and ego both have used the rather exhilarating symbol of fragrance (*bu*) for these two fundamental concepts of their poetry.

Sanai has found a significant simile in *uqab* or eagle, which is one of the most favourite symbols in Iqbal's poetry. Sanai is also fascinated by this bird although he usually uses it as a mere simile or metaphor and not as a symbol of power.

Iqbal has borrowed a couple of epithets from Sanai's poem *Dar Maqam-i Ahl-i Tauhid* mentioned earlier. A couplet of this poem reads as :

نہ صوت از بہر آن آمد کہ سوزی زہرۂ زہرہ

نہ حرف از بہر آن آمد کہ دزدی چادر زہرا[44]

Neither the sound was created to burn
Venice's lute to ashes,
Nor the word was meant to steal the mantle
of Zahra.

In his poem composed in emulation of Sanai's, Iqbal employs the epithet *Chadur-i Zahra* with still greater irony in an exceedingly tragic situation. He says :

یہی شیخ حرم ہے جو چرا کر بیچ کھاتا ہے
گلیم بوذر و دلق اویس و چادر زہرا[45]

Is this the custodian of the *Haram* who
steals to sell
The blanket of Buzar, the cloak of Uwais
and the mantle of Zahra ?

Again Iqbal has drawn on Sanai's vocabulary. Sanai looks upon *khishtandari* as an essential requisite of love. He says :

خولیشتن داری کنید ای عاشقان با درد عشق[46]

O lovers ! sustain yourselves with pangs
of love.

Iqbal defines love itself as *khishtandari* :

محبت خویشتن بینی محبت خویشتن داری
محبت آستان قیصر و کسریٰ سے بے پروا[47]

Love is self-awareness ; love is self-
preservation,
Love is indifferent to the courts of
Caesar and Khusrau.

In the same poem Iqbal has inserted the second hemistich of Sanai's following verse :

چو علمت هست خدمت کن چو دانایان که زشت آید
گرفته چینیان احرام و مکی خفته در بطحا[48]

If you possess knowledge serve like the wise,
Because it is clumsy for the Makkite to sleep in Batha
While the Chinese are donned in the pilgrim's garb.

Apart from this Iqbal has expressed a similar idea in the following couplet :

کافری بیدار دل پیش صنم

بہ ز دینداری کہ خفت اندر حرم[49]

An unbelieving Idolater with a wakeful heart,
Is better than a pious Muslim asleep in the *Haram*.

Iqbal has been so fascinated by Sanai's imagery that at times he borrows it albeit with an added gusto and passion. Sanai was amongst the earliest Persian poets who employed wholly sensuous imagery to portray mystical experience. This has remained an uninterrupted tradition down to our times. Iqbal has actually enhanced the symbolic tradition by giving entirely new meanings and values to some old symbols. At times, however, he borrows Sanai's symbols and images. For Sanai, tresses form a favourite symbol of ravishing beauty. One of his couplets which portrays the poet's yearnings for a glimpse of the beloved's tresses has prompted Iqbal to reproduce the same picturesque image both in Persian and Urdu. Sanai' says :

باز تابی در دہ آن زلفین عالم سوز را

باز آبی برزن آن روی جہان افروز را[50]

Add another curl to those world-ravishing tresses,
Once again lend glamour to your world-brightening face.

Iqbal repeats it with an added spell of melody :

فرصت کشمکش مده این دل بیقرار را
یک دو شکن زیاده کن گیسوی تابدار را[51]

Don't allow conflict to this restless heart
of mine,
Add a few more curls to your wavy tresses.

And the same restless desire persists in Urdu in the following couplet :

گیسوئے تابدار کو اور بھی تابدار کر
ہوش و خرد شکار کر قلب و نظر شکار کر[52]

Adorn your wavy tresses with still more
curls,
Rob understanding and intellect ; rob
heart and vision.

Celestial Journey

Last but not least, the two great poets have hit upon the fascinating idea of conveying their message by a description of imaginary journey through the heavens. Sanai's *mathnavi*, *Sairul-'Ibad ilal-Ma'ad* is, in this respect, a forerunner of Iqbal's *Javid Namah*. Although the latter is a work of far greater import and magnitude both in paint of thought and imagination, yet it was preceded by Sanai's above-mentioned *mathnavi* by eight centuries. Incidentally Sanai's work, the first of its kind in Persian, preceded Ibnu'l-Arabi's *al-Futuhatu'l-Makkiyyah* by about one hundred and *Dante's Divine Comedy* by two hundred years.

Iqbal exulted in the thought that he shared the fiery passion which Sanai had first evoked in Rumi's heart :

می روشن ز تاک من فرو ریخت
خوشا مردی که در دامانم آویخت

نصیب از آتشی دارم کہ اول
سنائی از دل رومی بر انگیخت[53]

Lustrous wine has dripped from my
vineyard,
Lucky is the person who has clung
to me.
I have the good fortune to share the
fire
Which Sanai kindled in Rumi's heart.

Sanai, for Iqbal, was a paragon of truth and sincerity. That is why he prayed to God to bless him with the same virtues:

عطا کن صدق و اخلاص سنائی[54]

8

IQBAL AND HAFIZ

Before entering into a discussion on Iqbal's attitude towards Hafiz it is necessary to describe the salient features of the latter's poetry. Hafiz lived in Shiraz in the 8th/14th century and died in 791/1389. By the incomparable beauty of his poetry he gained fame in his lifetime not only in Iran but also well beyond its frontiers. He alludes to his rising fame in the following couplet :

حافظ حدیث سحر فریب خوشت رسید
تا حد مصر و چین و باطراف روم و ری[1]

O Hafiz ! the enchanting account of your
poetry has travelled far
To the frontiers of Egypt and Syria and
the borders of Rum and Rai.

He rose to be the greatest Persian poet of his own age and none has ever been able to surpass his lyrical genius. In his poetry he sings of the rose, the nightingale, the spring, the wine, youth and beauty. He looks upon life as a riddle which wisdom and philosophy can never solve He, therefore, teaches total indifference to its oppressive callings, and evokes an attitude of gay abandon. The best way of treating the blows and buffets of fate, in his view, is to turn one's back on them and lose oneself in wine and music :

حدیث از مطرب و می گو و راز دہر کمتر جو
کہ کس نگشود و نگشاید بہ حکمت این معما را [2]

Talk about the musician and the wine, and
probe not into the mystery of the world,

Nobody has solved or will solve this puzzle
with the light of wisdom.

Or

ساقی به هوش باش که غم در کمین ماست
مطرب نگاه دار همین راه که میزنی [3]

O Saqi ! beware, for sorrow is lying in
ambush to pounce upon us,

O musician ! be on your guard, and keep
on playing the same tune.

The role of man, according to Hafiz, is predestined and no effort can change the writing on the scroll :

مرا روز ازل کاری بجز رندی نفرمودند
هر آن قسمت که آنجا رفت از آن افزون نخواهد شد [4]

On the day of creation I was ordained the
role of a *rind*,

The lot which was destined then will
change no more.

Since the purpose of creation is unknown, and man is bound by an inexorable fate, the only recourse for him should be escape from its rigours into the world of wine, song and beauty. Struggle and strife, confronation and endeavour, and risk and adventure are an exercise in futility ; and withdrawl and seclusion promise the joy of living. To wit :

دمی با غم بسر بردن جهان یکسر نمی ارزد
به می بفروش دلق ما کزین بهتر نمی ارزد

شکوه تاج سلطانی که بیم جان درو درج است
کلاه دلکش استا ما به بترک سر نمی ارزد [5]

The world is not worth a moment of sadness,
Sell off our cloack for wine,
For it will fetch no better price.
The splendour of the royal crown which entails
the risk of life,
Is a fascinating headgear, but no price for an
uneasy head.

The philosophy which Hafiz presented with constant stress in lines of alluring charm was not accepted by all his ardent readers in its literal sense. One school of thought invested his poetry with mystical symbolism while the other took pleasure in its hedonistic or passive approach. This conflict of views existed in his very lifetime. One of his friends and admirers Muhammad Gul Andam who compiled the great poet's *Divan* within a few years of his death has described him as "the mine of spiritual subtleties and the treasury of Divine knowledge"[6]. At the same time, he points out the irresistible appeal of the odes of Hafiz in the circle of mystics and libertines alike, and describes him as a source of light for both the profane and the pious.[7] This attitude has persisted through the centuries. Many of the poet's later admirers including the famous mystic poet Jami (d. 898/1492) have lauded him as *Lisanul-Ghaib* (the Tongue of the Unseen) and *Tarjumanu'l-Asrar* (the Interpreter of Mysteries)[8] and generally speaking, the Sufis have hailed the incomparable beauty of his verse as a cherished mystical treasure.

The contradictions in Hafiz' poetry have led people of different tastes and attitudes to different and even contradictory interpretations and conclusions. Hafiz always exulted in the use of the word *rind* for himself. Originally a drunkard or a libertine, it was given an entirely new connotation by him. By investing it with certain supreme virtues and moral values he totally changed its character. For the common reader, however, *rindi* stood for the sensual joys of life. The contradiction, therefore, was accentuated. It was further deepened by the apparently contradictory attitude of the poet himself. On the one hand he portrayed the *rind* as a man constantly

given to wine and song, and on the other he idealized him for his deep vision, intimate knowledge of the hidden as well as apparent nature of things, humility, courage, and disdain of vanity, ostentation, worldly riches and grandeur. To give an instance of the vision and gnosis associated with the *rind*:

راز درون پرده ز رندان مست پرس
کاین حال نیست زاهد عالی مقام را[9]

For the secret hidden behind the curtain
seek guidance of the drunken *rinds*,
As the esteemed ascetic is deprived of this
state of rapture.

Or

مصلحت نیست که از پرده برون افتد راز
ورنه در محفل رندان خبری نیست که نیست[10]

It is not expedient that the secret leaks out,
Otherwise there is no secret not known in
the circle of *rinds*.

Again while taking pride in assuming the role of a *rind*, Hafiz also claims to know the Qur'an by heart and cherish its sanctity. Says he :

ندیدم خوشتر از شعر تو حافظ
به قرانی که اندر سینه داری[11]

By the Qur'an, O Hafiz, which you guard
in your bosom,
I have not seen verses more fascinating than
yours.

The *rind*, therefore, becomes identical with a mystic ; and wine, song and dance assume symbolic colours. This word has been

celebrated by many later poets as such. At times Hafiz even makes a passionate appeal for big exploits which may shake the skies. To quote an instance :

عاقبت منزل ما وادی خاموشان است
حالیا غلغله در گنبد افلاک انداز[12]

Our journey's end is the vale of silence,
Take time by the forelock
And raise clamour in the dome of
the heavens.

But such a call is an exception, and is lost in the din of fun and frolic.

For centuries the admirers of Hafiz have taken auguries from his *Divan.* However, the common reader, ignorant of mystical subtleties, was bound to be influenced by the repeated appeal to wine and beauty ; the message of contentment bordering on inaction ; passivity and escape ; belief in predetermination ; utter helplessness of man in the cosmos ; and the consequent strong invitation to the pleasures of life.

Iqbal's attitude towards Hafiz appears to have changed gradually with the evolution of the philosophy of *khudi.* In his early life he was a great admirer of Hafiz and felt a close affinity with his spirit. While in Europe he had told Atiya Begum that he was dedicated to Hafiz. "I discovered", she writes, "that Iqbal was also a great admirer of Hafiz. 'When I am in the mood of Hafiz', he said, 'his spirit enters into my soul, and my personality merges into the poet and I myself become Hafiz' "[13] Again, she writes, "I felt that Iqbal believed more in Hafiz than in any other Persian poet, as there was not an occasion he let go, but referred to the ideas and ideals of Hafiz and compared him with other philosophers."[14] To what extent Hafiz influenced the artistic perceptions of Iqbal is revealed in the following glowing tribute paid by him to the great poet of Shiraz :

"In words like cut jewels Hafiz put the sweet unconscious spirituality of the nightingale."[15]

This beautiful appreciation also echoes in the poet's letters written to Maharaja Kishan Prashad, Prime Minister of the princely state of Hyderabad, Deccan ; and to the eminent contemporary Persian poet and friend Girami (d. 1927). In one of his *ghazals* sent to Girami on 28 January 1915 Iqbal had paid a loving tribute to Hafiz, but he later diverted it to Goethe.[16] Similarly, in a letter which was written in 1919, when martial law was imposed by the British Government on the Punjab, he wrote to Maharaja Kishan Prashad that in those gloomy days the poet could draw comfort only from the soothing lines of Hafiz, and had quoted one of those in his letter.[17] Significantly, Iqbal named the lyrical section of *Payam-i-Mashriq* as *Mai Baqi* (Eternal Wine) which is an epithet borrowed from a famous verse of Hafiz composed in love of his birthplace Shiraz [18] This denotes an indirect tribute to Hafiz. The *ghazals* which follow show an unmistakable influence of Hafiz on their style, mood and spirit.

However, when Iqbal wrote *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he especially chose Hafiz as a target for relentless attack on his favourite theme of wine and music.

It is natural, then, to ask why Iqbal so strongly condemned Hafiz in *Asrar-i-Khudi*. It will be appropriate to say briefly that Iqbal views Hafiz' poetry from two different angles. He is fascinated by Hafiz the artist ; but he is repelled by Hafiz the thinker. Iqbal received full impact of the art of Hafiz, and no poet appears to have shown such a close kinship of spirit and craftsmanship with him. Referring to one of Iqbal's lyrics, Dr. Lutf Ali Suratgar, the late Professor of English in Tehran University and a distinguished poet, significantly remarked that it appeared to have been composed by the side of Hafiz' grave.[19] This tribute reveals to what extent Iqbal had imbibed the bright spirit and rare artistic beauty of Hafiz' odes. Iqbal's odes reflect this unmistakable influence in the field of exquisite vocabulary ; imagery and symbolism ; majestic and sweeping rhythm ; and the spirit of freedom, hope and delight. Similarly, he has composed a large number of *ghazals* in emulation of Hafiz' lyrics and followed their metres end rhyming schemes.

But so far as the attitude of Hafiz towards life is concerned, Iqbal finds in it a message of stupor, inaction and a firm faith in predetermination which in his view deals a severe blow to a constructive and dynamic attitude towards life ; and sternly rejects it. Such an attitude kills the desire for constant struggle, ceaseless activity, power and the will to surmount obstacles, the virtues which constantly raise the human self to a higher plane of life and enable it to attain full freedom. In other words, this attitude runs counter to Iqbal's philosophy of *khudi*. When he presented this philosophy to the world in his *Asrar-i-Khudi* and stressed on the limitless range of the activities and potentialities of the human ego, he adopted an uncompromising attitude towards Haflz and categorically disapproved of his philosophy of life. When Iqbal condemned Hafiz for his call to wine, he had in all probability the historical evidence to prove that Hafiz had used the word in its literal sense. For example, when Mubarizud-Din Muhammad (713/1314-759/1358), a known puritan, closed down taverns in Shiraz after its capture in 758/1357, Hafiz expressed his dismay in different satirical verses to mark the end of an era of gaiety and pronounced it as a victory for hypocrisy and dissumulation, to wit :

بود آیا کہ در میکدہ ها بگشایند
گرہ از کار فرو بستۂ ما بگشایند

در میخانہ ببستند خدایا مپسند
کہ در خانۂ تزویر و ریا بگشایند [20]

Would it be that they opened the doors
of the tavern,
And untied the knot of our endless
worries ?
They have closed down the taverns,
But do not permit O Lord !
That they open the door of hypocrisy
and dissumulation.

And when Shah Shuja (765/1364-786/1384) revoked the earlier orders and threw open the taverns, Hafiz celebrated the event with great joy and gusto :

سحر ز ہاتف غیبم رسید مژدہ بگوش
کہ دور شاہ شجاع است می دلیر بنوش[21]

At dawn a voice from heaven broke to
me the happy news :
The era of Shah Shuja has dawned,
So openly partake of wine.

Whether Hafiz actually attained sainthood or not became an engima for Iqbal and kept him distracted for a considerable time even after he had condemned Hafiz in *Asrar-i-Khudi.* In a letter written on 19 July 1916 he mentioned that he was doing research on Shah Jahangir Ashraf, a contemporary of Hafiz, who was reported to have described the poet as a great saint.[22] This was a significant development, as it had taken place after the publication of *Asrar-i-Khudi.* His letter written to Maharaja Kishan Prashad in earlier, contains a friendly reference to Hafiz. Similarly his 1919, as mentioned selection of the epithet *Mai Baqi* for a section of *Payam-i-Mashriq* came still later and confirmed his associations with Hafiz. But since Iqbal laid emphasis on creative effort and constant activityas the watch word of life, he came with a heavy hand on thinkers like Plato and poets like Hafiz who had imparted to the world a message of inaction, passivity and quietism. He certainly did not deny the greatness of Hafiz as an artist, but he condemned his thought as negative and destructive. Iqbal's disparagement of Hafiz came like a thunderbolt to all mystic and mysticism-oriented readers in the subcontinent who raised a storm of protest against his reletless criticism of the greatest of all Persian lyricists. The resentment was so strong that Iqbal had to expunge his criticism on Hafiz in the next edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi* and substitute it with *Dar Haqiqat-i-Shi'r va Islah-i-Adabiyyat-i-Islamiyya* (On the Nature of Poetry and Reform of Islamic Literature)[23] which presented

Iqbal's concept of art and the duties of an artist. He was, however, pained to face such a violent reaction even amongst his friends like the great Urdu poet Akbar Allahabadi and he had to write to him more than once in his defence.

While discussing Hafiz it is imperative to survey the growth of symbolism in Persian *ghazal* and the transformation of erotic vocabulary and themes into symbols. In fact this symbolism had started in Persian poetry as early as the 5th/11th century. Shaikh Abu Said Abil-Khair (d. 440/1049) may be regarded as the first Sufi poet who presented and interpreted the doctrine of *Wahdatul-Wujud* in his quatrains in sensual language and employed erotic images to represent mystical ideas. This norm was welcomed and invariably followed by the great mystic poets like Sanai, 'Attar and Rumi etc. with the result that Persian poetry, especially, the *ghazal*, became thoroughly steeped in symbolism. The poets preferred to stick to the traditional genre of *ghazal* and lent new symbols to old images and diction. Words assumed symbolic significance ; and mystial concepts found expression in rich sensual lyrical poetry. The impact was so great that Mahmud Shabistari (d. 720/1320) an eminent mystic, had to devote a part of his famous *mathnavi*, *Gulshan-i-Raz*, to the elucidation and interpretation of sensual images as symbols of Sufi beliefs and concepts. By the time of Hafiz symbolism had become an established practice and a universal tradition of Persian poetry especially the *ghazal*. This symbolism inevitably led to ambiguity, and the reader of Persian poetry found himself at liberty to interpret a poetic experience in the light of his own mood, attitude or outlook. Rumi idealized this form by saying that it was more pleasing to "describe the secret of sweethearts in others' language."[24] The tradition became so entrenched and pervasive that six hundred years after Rumi, Ghalib (d. 1869) had to emphasize in the following couplet that it was not possible to express even the vision of Reality without reference to wine and goblet :

ہر چند ہو مشاہدۂ حق کی گفتگو
بنتی نہیں ہے بادہ و ساغر کہے بغیر[25]

Even though the vision of God we
discuss,

We cannot yet escape

An allusion to wine and cup.

Why Iqbal picked up Hafiz for severe criticism appears to be due to two reasons. Firstly, the lyrics of Hafiz are unusually coloured with sense of escape from reality, and the call to the pleasures of the flesh is too srong and irresistible. Secondly, Hafiz is unquestionably the greatest master of Persian *ghazal*, and the magical charm of his poetry is bound to leave an impact on the reoder's mind, which in the case of a person not initiated into the mystic tradition, is likely to prove highly baneful. Thus Hafiz became the symbol of a distinct attitude and outlook, and by criticizing him Iqbal actually condemned the entire school of poets who had failed to face the grim realities of life and taken refuge in physical pleasures. The impact of the greatest of the lyricists was bound to be correspondingly the profoundest. Hence an attack on his poetry implied an attack on all poetry of this kind. What Iqbal aimed at was to dispel the charm of an art, which irrespective of its possible mystical significance, was apparently fraught with dangerous possibilities and could do more harm than good to the common reader. To gather the virile and the positive from such a norm and avoid the clarion-call to sensual pleasures was not given to everybody. Hence in spite of the highest appreciation for Hafiz' art, Iqbal could not help condeming the substance of his verse.

9

CONCEPT OF ART

Iqbal is the poet of life and resurgence. His concept of art must necessarily manifest the zest for life. An artist who accepts the challenge of life and is conscious of his role in the society must believe in the service of art for the enrichment of life, progress of man and collective good of humanity.

Iqbal looks upon life as a creative and dynamic phenomenon. He has a clear-cut, comprehensive philosophy of life and of man's primary role in the universe. For him, life is a constant creation of desires and ideals and a ceaseless struggle by the human self for the realization of ever-new ideals and ambitions. This struggle leads to the fortification and freedom of the human personality. For him, consequently, the art which responds to the urge to progress is healthy and welcome ; the art which fails to do so is dangerous and detestable. The art which fortifies the ego is creative and wholesome ; the one which weakens it is morbid and ugly.

In 1916 the poet expressed in *The New Era* his views on the nature of art in the following words :

"The ultimate end of all human activity is life ... glorious, powerful and exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to reality around, on the mastery of which alone life depends, is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in Art. The dogma of Art for

the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power."[1]

In 1928 he reaffirmed his views by saying :

"I look upon Art as subservient to life and personality."[2]

Art for Art's Sake

The movement 'Art for Art's sake' to which Iqbal has referred above was the creation of certain decadent Western writers who started it in the beginning of the 19th century to celebrate beauty as a complete, final and absolute value. Other values like goodness and truth, they held, were either subordinate or totally unrelated to it. Amongst its earliest exponents were Bodelaire (d. 1867), Gautier (d. 1872) and Flaubaire (d. 1880) in France; Pushkin (d. 1837) in Russia ; Walter Pater (d. 1894) and Oscar Wilde (d. 1900) in England and Edgar Allan Poe (d. 1849) in the United States Even the German romantics Schlegel (d. 1845) and Heine (d. 1856) both of whom believed in the freedom of art, may be regarded as the forerunners of this school. Gautier, the idol of the later group of poets who called themselves the "Parnassions", explained the new theory in the following words :

> We believe in the autonomy of art : for us art is not a means but a goal ; an artist who pursues an object other than the beautiful is not an artist.

He even asserted : "A thing that becomes useful ceases to be beautiful."

Significantly, it was he perhaps who invented the slogan "art for art", which the English Decadents changed into "art for art's sake."[3]

Oscar Wilde drew a sharp line between art and morality in the following words :

> The first condition of creation is that the critics should be able to recognize that the sphere of art and the sphere of ethics are absolutely distinct and separate.[4]

He also remarked elsewhere that morality in art was a mere literary mannerism.

For Iqbal, however, art must fortify human ego and serve life. This is the basic requirement of art. His entire philosophy of life is centred on ego. According to him the art which does not serve it is worth nothing.

گر ہنر میں نہیں تعمیر خودی کا جوہر
وائے صورت گری و شاعری و نائے و سرود[5]

If art lacks the substance to build *khudi*,

Woe to sculpture, poetry, flute and melody.

As the poet of life in all its glory, power and conquest, Iqbal rejected the ideas of decadents as deceptive and absurd. For a poet who has, perhaps, advocated the cause of functional art more eloquently than any other artist, these votaries of beauty were men bereft of the spirit of life and the concept of reality. The works of such writers, he maintained, presented an illusion. They distorted the values of life and robbed it of freshness, initiative and joy. The enchanting notes of the poets of this type were the music of death and like the mythological sirens lured the pilots of ships into the abyss of destruction :

وای قومی کز اجل گیرد برات
شاعرش وا بوسد از ذوق حیات

بوسۂ او تازگی از گل برد
ذوق پرواز از دل بلبل برد

ماهی و از سینه تا سر آدم است
چون بنات آشیان اندر یم است

از نوا بر ناخدا افسون زلد
کشتیش در قعر دریا افگند [6]

Woe to the nation that resigns itself
to death,
And whose poet shuns the joy of
living.
His kiss robs the flower of freshness,
And deprives the nightingale of the
spirit of flying.
He is a fish with human head and
bosom,
Like the sirens in the ocean.
He enchants the pilot with his song,
And drowns the ship to the bottom
of the sea.

Iqbal's dedication to life and faith in functionalism in art was so complete that he even subjected Hafiz, the great lyrical poet of Iran, to scathing criticism for his escapist tendencies, and in doing so he paid little heed to the poetic excellence of Hafiz or the esteem in which he was held as a mystic and gnostic amongst his readers. He did agree that one of the functions of art was to give pleasure, but he did not regard the pleasure which a work of art evoked as the end of art. He explicitly states :

ہے شعر عجم گرچہ طربناک و دلآویز
اس شعر سے ہوتی نہیں شمشیر خودی تیز [7]

However joyful and enchanting the
Persian verse may be,
It does not sharpen the edge of the
ego's sword.

As against Hafiz, the superb master of lyrical poetry, Iqbal paid glowing tribute to Urfi (d. 999/1591) another eminent Persian poet,

for his robust concept of art and of the functional role of an artist. He has admired Urfi in *Bang-i-Dara*[8] and *Payam-i-Mashriq*[9] for the following couplet in which the poet has eloquently defined an artist's role in society even in the most adverse and depressing circumstances :

نوا را تلخ تر میزن چو ذوق نغمه کم یابی
حدی را تیز تر می خوان چو محمل را گران بینی

Add to the poignance of your outpourings,
If you find little taste for poetry,
Sing in quicker tempo when you find the
 litter
Lying heavy on the camel's back.

Free and Slave Artists

Iqbal has divided artists into two classes, the slave musicians and painters[10] and the free architects.[11] He finds little in the productions of the former which can stimulate and inspire. Their art is decadent, he says, and their imagination acts as death-blow to the spirit of creation and resurgence. Their gloomy thoughts and emotions can only cast shadows of death. They conceal dynamic possibilities from eyes and chill the human soul. They can only sigh and wail and be sad and despondent. But, unfortunately, adds the poet, they do not appreciate even the nature of sadness. As referred in a different context earlier, he then explains that sadness is of two kinds. One of these consumes man : the other swallows all kinds of sorrows and griefs.

The Indian artists come in for a scathing attack on account of the morbid spirit of their works and the dominant element of sex in them :

چشم انساں سے چھپاتے ہیں مقامات بلند
کرتے ہیں روح کو خوابیدہ بدن کو بیدار

ہند کے شاعر و صورت گر و افسانہ نویس
آہ بیچاروں کے اعصاب پہ عورت ہے سوار[12]

They conceal exalted positions from the
eyes of man,
They send the soul into stupor, and awaken
the body,
The poets, sculptors and short story writers
of India,
Alas, the poor ones are all obsessed with
woman.

The same holds true of the painter. Iqbal has revealed through typical illustrations the lack of life, zest and ardour in slaves' painting. The painter's heart, he regrets, lacks the firmness and warmth of conviction and the joy of creativeness. He, especially, condemns scepticism which saps the springs of life and cuts at the roots of creative power. The slave painter, he says, betrays frivolous imagination and colours his works with melodramatic or sombre themes which can spell disaster. He observes that beauty lies in the soul of the painter himself. If he fails to resist to nature and allows it to assail him, he parts with his ego and becomes a stranger to himself. His intellect loses vitality, while his heart is shorn of the zest for life.

Similarly, in Iqbal's eyes the only standard for music is its impact on life : its creative, inspiring and elevating force. As in case of painters he has drawn a line between good and bad music. If it thrills and creates a passion for positive and zestful life it is welcome; if it is bereft of its joy and thrill and benumbs the spirit it has no right to exist. Good music, which he calls *Surud-i-Halal*[13] melts the stars, immortalizes the heart, eliminates fear and despondency and raises the lonely man to the height of power. If it brings the message of death, the harp, the rebec and the flute have no right to exist. This is bade music. He has termed it *Surud-i-Haram*.[14]

Iqbal lays repeated stress on the freedom of art from the bondage of nature :

فطرت کی غلامی سے کر آزاد ہنر کو
صیاد ہیں مردان ہنر مند کہ نخچیر[15]

Free art from the clutches of nature,
Are the artists the captors or the captives ?

Iqbal is no admirer of fine arts of the Muslim world either. He maintains that except for architecture, the spirit of Islam has not revealed itself in any other art.[16]

Architecture

He has definitely a soft corner for grand architecture. Though he has mainly concerned himself with Muslim architecture and specifically written poems on the Mosque of Cordoba (*Masjid-i-Qurtaba*),[17] and the *Quwwatul-Islam* Mosque in Delhi (*Masjid-i-Quwwatul-Islam*),[18] and a stanza on *Taj Mahal*[19] in Agra, yet he has also recorded his deep impressions of the awe-inspiring pyramids whose massive and rugged beauty had stirred him to pay the highest tributes to the mighty hands which built them and led him to compare the powerful creative human impulse with an insipid nature. Says he :

اس دشت جگر تاب کی خاموش فضا میں
فطرت نے فقط ریت کے ٹیلے کیے تعمیر

اہرام کی عظمت سے نگونسار ہیں افلاک
کس ہاتھ نے کھینچی ابدیت کی یہ تصویر[20]

In the mute expanse of this burning
  desert,
Nature has but sand-dunes produced.
The skies bow to the grandeur of the
  pyramids,
O what a hand drew this picture of
  eternity !

Iqbal regards power as the essence of life. It is power which

lends it beauty and glory. Therefore one of the fundamental objectives of art is to vivify life with power and vitality. Beauty lies in power and without it its lustre and glow have no real value. He says :

مری نظر میں یہی ہے جمال و زیبائی
کہ سر بہ سجدہ ہیں قوت کے سامنے افلاک
نہ ہو جلال تو حسن و جمال بے تاثیر
نرا نفس ہے اگر نغمہ ہو نہ آتشناک [21]

In my eyes, in power lies beauty and elegance,
Even the skies do obeisance to power.
Without awe and majesty beauty lacks effect,
Without fire melody is just a breath.

For Iqbal, meeting resistance in the proccess of the creation of goals and ideals is a sign of vitality and power. That is why he regards art as the symbol of power and strength. He believes that if the artist cannot break the news of a dawn he should at least save the nation the torture of dark, dismal and depressing strains. In his opinion such music should be totally forbidden.

The exponents of healthy and robust art can create, reconstruct, and achieve marvels by their inspiring works. An artist of this type, says Iqbal, "is a blessing to mankind ... is an associate of God."[22] He has described such poets in lines of enduring beauty :

سینۂ شاعر تجلی زار حسن
خیزد از سینای او انوار حسن
از نگاهش خوب گردد خوب تر
فطرت از افسون او محبوب تر

فکر او با ماہ و انجم ہمنشین
زشت را نا آشنا خوب آفرین
خضر در ظلمات او آب حیات
زندہ تر از آب چشمش کائنات[23]

The poet's heart is the world of light and beauty,
His Sina beams out beauty in profusion.
His eyes make fair look fairer,
Nature by his spell becomes more enchanting.
His thought soars with the moon and the stars,
Alien to the ugly, he is the creator of beauty.
He is a Khizr with the Fountain of Life in darkness,
The tears of his eyes make things in the universe more alive.

These lines reveal the intimate relationship of the poet with life, and his mission to vivify, enbellish and animate it. In other words the only criterion of art in Iqbal's eyes is as to how far it is subservient to life, how far it brings good and glory to life, man and society and how far it builds and fortifies personality and ego. On the reverse, an artist who is insensitive to the claims and urge of life can spell ruin. To quote from the Foreword to *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai* :

"The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or a Changez."[24]

The first and foremost duty of the artist, therefore, is to perceive life, guard it against depressing, dismal and defeatist tendencies, imbue it with a premanent state of creative desire and rouse people with prophetic power and vision :

اے اهل نظر ذوق نظر خوب ہے لیکن
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ سمجھے وہ نظر کیا

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی کا نفس ہو
جس سے چمن افسردہ ہو وہ باد سحر کیا

مقصود ہنر سوز حیات ابدی ہے
یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثل شرر کیا

بے معجزہ دنیا میں ابھرتی نہیں قومیں
جو ضرب کلیمی نہیں رکھتا وہ ہنر کیا [25]

O men of vision, the aesthetic relish is
a handsome virtue,
But what use is it if it perceives not
reality.
Be it the melody of the poet or the
breath of the musician,
Little value does the zephyr command
if the garden is sad and sorrowful.
The object of art is a burning passion
for life eternal,
The momentary life as that of a spark
is a passing show.
Nations do not rise without a miracle,
Art without Moses' Rod is no art.

Another prerequisite of art is a constant longing in the heart of the artist. The wave of his breath must nurse desires as the wave of breeze fosters verdure :

باد صبا کی موج سے نشو و نمائے خار و خس
میرے نفس کی موج سے نشو و نمائے آرزو[26]

Iqbal wants the artist's heart to pulsate constantly with ever new objectives. The realization of one desire must precede the birth of a new one, and fresh aspirations must ceaselessly motivate the artist to reach broader vistas and nobler heights. In a poem of exceptional beauty, namely, *Hur-o-Sha'ir*, (The Houri and the Poet) whose central idea has been borrowed from Goethe, the houri impatiently asks the poet the reason for his total indifference to her dazzling beauty. The poet's response forms an eloquent presentation of Iqbal's concept of art highlighting the artist's craze for the fulfilment of unending ambitions and aspirations :

چہ کنم کہ فطرت من بہ مقام در نسازد
دل ناصبور دارم چو صبا بہ لالہ زاری

چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگار خوبروی
تپد آنزمان دل من پی خوب تر نگاری

طلبم نہایت آن کہ نہایتی ندارد
بہ نگاہ نا شکیبی ، بہ دل امید واری[27]

My nature does not reconcile with
repose,

A restless heart have I, like the zephyr
blowing in a tulip-field.

When my eyes rest on a lovely face,

My heart aches for a lovelier sweet-
heart.

I long for the end of the endless,

With an impatient glance and a heart
full of hope.

Passion

The artist is destined to crave for the infinite in a state of constant excitement. Excitement, expectancy and tension fill the artists' heart with *suz*, that is, love, or a burning passion for the achievement of the ideal. Without this passion art loses its vitality, personality and effect. Art without this exuberant emotion is like the mosque in Paris as described in Iqbal's poem of this name i.e. *Paris ki Masjid*,[28] built for political and colonial motives and singularly devoid of impact. On the contrary, the mosque of Cordoba (*Masjid-i-Qurtaba*) stands out as a glorious specimen of beauty and grandeur, as its creation has been prompted by love and a burning passion. The intense, exuberant emotion seems to have permeated through stone and mortar and turned the edifice into a masterpiece of sublime art. The poet explains this concept in the following words :

رنگ ہو یا خشت و سنگ ، چنگ ہو یا حرف و صوت
معجزۂ فن کی ہے خون جگر سے نمود[29]

Be it colour or brick and stone ; be it harp or
word and sound,
The miracle of art reveals its glory through the
heart's blood.

Again :

نقش ہیں سب ناتمام خون جگر کے بغیر
نغمہ ہے سودائے خام خون جگر کے بغیر[30]

All works of art are incomplete
without the blood of the heart,
All melody is frivolity without it.

Similarly, he has described Taj Mahal as a glistening pearl in moonlight which owes its peerless beauty to love. This mausoleum, he says, radiates the spirit of love which has caused liquid harmonies to flow from the marble. It is love which lends

sublimity to emotion and radiance to art. "In the last poem of *Zabur-i-Ajam*," he say, "I have tried to picture the soul-movement of the ideal artist in whom love reveals itself as a unity of Beauty and Power":

دلبری بی قاہری جادو گری است
دلبری با قاہری پیغمبری است"[31]

Beauty without power is magic,
Beauty with power is prophethood.

In another fascinating couplet the poet attributes the exhilarating influence of the flute to the heart of the flute -player and not to the instrument itself:

آیا کہاں سے نالۂ نے میں سرور مے
اصل اس کی نے نواز کا دل ہے یا چوب نے[32]

How did the mirth of wine mingle
with the wailing notes of the flute?
Does its source lie in the flutist's
heart or in the reed?

Melody lacks its true colour unless it is tempered with the pangs of love. Iqbal's ideal art is the one smothered in creative frenzy. It is like fire mingled with the blood of the heart. Without fire and passion it will be devoid of impact:

نغمہ می باید جنون پروردۂ
آتشی با خون دل حل کردۂ[33]

Melody should be the creation of
frenzy,
Like fire blent with the blood of
the heart.

The fundamental difference that Iqbal has points out between

Rumi and Bu Ali Sina is the profusion of *suz* in the mystic Rumi and its absence in the philosopher Ibn Sina. According to Iqbal if reality lacks emotion it is reduced to philosophy, logic and discursive reason. But if it is steeped in emotion it becomes poetry :

بو علی اندر غبار ناقه گم
دست رومی پردهٔ محمل گرفت

حق اگر سوزی ندارد حکمت است
شعر میگردد چو سوز از دل گرفت[33]

Bu-Ali is lost in the caravan dust,
While the hands of Rumi have seized the litter.
Reality deprived of passion is philosophy,
Permeated with passion it turns into poetry.

Creativeness

Art must be creative. Creativeness is a Divine virtue. "Both God and man", he says "live by perpetual creation."[35] The artist in man beautifies and elevates the world by his creative and aesthetic genius. In a lively dialogue between man and God the poet has brought this idea into bold relief with eloquent logic :

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم
سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدم

بیابان و کهسار و راغ آفریدی
خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم

من آنم که از سنگ آئینه سازم
من آنم که از زهر نوشینه سازم[36]

You created the night ; I have
created the lamp,
You created the sherd : I have
created the cup.
You created the desert, the
mountain and the meadow,
I created the flower-bed, the rose-
land and the garden.
I chisel mirror from stone,
And turn poison into sweetness.

Iqbal credits the poet wedded to reality with miraculous achievments :

نوای شاعر جادو نگاری
ز نیش زندگی نوشینه سازد[37]

The spell of a master poet's notes,
Turns the poison of life into
sweetness.

If the poet can live up to the aims and ideals set forth by Iqbal, poetry can rise to the heights of prophethood. He has summed up these aims and ideals as the creation and resurrection of man :

شعر را مقصود اگر آدم گریست
شاعری ہم وارث پیغمبر یست[38]

If the object of poetry is to create
man,
Poetry is successor to prophethood.

Similarly, as against creative virtue, Iqbal hates imitation and refuses to accept it. He contends that "Resistance of what *is* with a view to creating what *ought to be*, is health and life. All else is decay and death."[39] He despises drama, which according to him, kills human personality :

یہی کمال ہے تمثیل کا کہ تو نہ رہے
رہا نہ تو تو نہ سوز خودی نہ ساز حیات[40]

The miracle of drama lies in depriving you of yourself,
With your exit will perish the passion of *khudi* and the emotion of life.

This attitude brings him closer to Plato who condemns drama on the ground that it imitates violent emotion and provokes emotional tendencies which are difficult to control. There is not only resemblance between the two in their views on the principle of creativeness in art, which they regard as a divine quality, but also on the functional role of art. Plato was conscious of this supreme role and wished art to serve people for a noble purpose. He criticized Homer for blemishing his poetry with the introduction of fictitious stories which, he said,corrupted the mind of the youth with false ideas. Generally speaking, he held poets in scant respect and charged them with false views on gods and men. He protested that these views vitiated the minds of the young. He was in search of artists who could raise the moral tone of the society and produce better citizens. For instance, in music, which he permitted in the *Republic*, he would allow only such tunes as could create a warlike spirit in the listeners and inspire them to heroic deeds. He also expected the artist to help produce sober and balanced citizens, and even suggested that artists who misled people should be expelled from the State.

There is a vast distance between the ideal and the real. Iqbal was fully conscious of it. Nevertheless, he did not merely aspire for ideals, but in fact devoted his entire genius to the service of man, society and life. If an artist could ever reconstruct and breathe fresh life into dormant souls he rightly claimed to be one :

صورت گری را از من بیاموز
شاید که خود را باز آفرینی[41]

Learn from me the art of shaping man,
Perhaps you will resurrect yourself.

10

NATURE

Nature is one of the most fascinating themes in Iqbal's poetry. It awakened his earliest inspirations and stirred him to a deep sense of wonder and delight in its sensuous manifestations. A considerable number of poems in *Bang-i-Dara* is devoted to hymns of nature, and even though the poet's attitude towards nature changed radically in certain respects under the influence of his metaphysical thought, it continued to inspire him to great lyrical heights and serve as background to heighten the inner significance of his message.

Harmony and Kinship

Iqbal started with eloquent descriptions of the beauteous forms of the outdoor world. But it was hardly confined to mere description at any stage. He was at first animated by a desire to associate nature with the principles of harmony, kinship and benevolence, thus reinforcing the aesthetic pleasure derived from the beautiful objects of nature with the notion that the order of the uhiverse was harmonious, benevolent and purposive towards man. In this he seems to be at one with the Western romantic poets who in their cult of nature had borrowed so much from the contemporary metaphysical and scientific thought.

In his earliest poems Iqbal betrays great discomfort at the discord of life and seeks consolation in nature only to find a spirit of peace which lies at the heart of endless agitation. He is overwhelmed with a feeling of sickness in the company of men and yearns for the blissful quiet of the country to lose himself in the freedom of lonely places and whisper with what Coleridge called

'Nature in the grove'. Here he finds a deep sense of unity and kinship with the objects of nature. In his poem *Chand* (The Moon) in *Bang-i-Dara*, for instance, he draws a lengthy comparison between himself and the moon. To quote :

آہ میں جلتا ہوں سوز اشتیاق دید سے
تو سراپا سوز داغ منت خورشید سے

زندگی کی رہ میں سرگرداں ہے تو حیراں ہوں میں
تو فروزاں محفل ہستی میں ہے سوزاں ہوں میں

میں رہ منزل میں ہوں تو بھی رہ منزل میں ہے
تیری محفل میں جو خاموشی ہے میرے دل میں ہے

انجمن ہے ایک میری بھی جہاں رہتا ہوں میں
بزم میں اپنی اگر یکتا ہے تو تنہا ہوں میں !

I consume with a burning passsion to
have the joy of seeing,
The scar of the sun's obligation makes
you wholly burn.
You wander on life's paths unknown,
While I can only wonder.
You blaze in the lively world,
While I can only burn.
We both tread the weary way,
And we are silent both ;
You in company, I in heart.
I dwell in a friendly circle,
But find myself forlorn in company,
While amongst friends you are unique.

Blissful Solitude

Aik Arzu (A Longing) one of Iqbal's earliest poems, is not only an exquisite piece of scenic description but also a typical example of his disgust with the heat and pressure of life

which is expressed in the very first line of the poem :

دنیا کی محفلوں سے اکتا گیا ہوں یا رب
کیا لطف انجمن کا جب دل ہی بجھ گیا ہو[2]

O Lord ! I am sick of men around,
What joy can company bring if the
heart is live no more.

The poet's later philosophy is yet to take root, and instead of his passion for the conquest of the environment, which ultimately becomes an integral part of his thought, he aims in this poem at penetrating into the comforting warmth and mystery of nature and to lose himself in its blissful solitude.

It reminds us of the passionate yearnings of Byron, who has little of the transcendentalism of the other romantic poets, to seek consolation in the solitary beauty of nature :

There is pleasure in the pathless wood,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar :
I love not man the less, but Nature more[3]

Iqbal's early dislike of the humdrum of city life is discernible also in the last line of *Himala* (The Himalayas) where he makes a passionate plea for the revival of the dim past :

ہاں دکھا دے اے تصور پھر وہ صبح و شام تو
دوڑ پیچھے کی طرف اے گردش ایام تو[4]

Bring back to life the same old morn
and eve,
O fancy !
Move swiftly back to ancient past,
O changing time !

One wonders if this yearning in not caused by the general notion prevalent in the romantic period, and also manifest in early European literature, to associate the word nature with a state of life untouched by human arts and institutions. The concept of nature held by Wordsworth, Shelley and Southey (d. 1843) reflects this primitivism.

Western Influence

Iqbal's nature poetry bears strong marks of resemblance with that of Wordsworth and other romantic poets. And it is rather significant that all the translations rendered by Iqbal from English are those relating to romantic poetry. The theme of these poems almost invariably concerns nature. This romantic fervour is the source of many an exquisite original nature poem by Iqbal. Like Wordsworth, Iqbal looks upon nature as the symbol of purposiveness and benevolence. He also regards it as a great educative force in life :

گل کی کلی چٹک کر پیغام دے کسی کا
ساغر ذرا سا گویا مجھ کو جہاں نما ہو

The flower's bud may snap to impart
one's message,
The little cup may serve me as the world-
revealing goblet.

Again :

علم کے حیرت کدے میں ہے کہاں اس کی نمود
گل کی پتی میں نظر آتا ہے راز ہست و بود[6]

How can the stupefied intellect reveal it ?
The mystery of existence and non-existence
is reflected in the flower petal.

The ideal cherished by the poet in *Aik Arzu* also brings to mind the words of Lessing (d 1781) the German romanticist, that the spirit of man is made gentler by studying nature.

Like all romantic poets, Iqbal is dissatisfied with the present show of life, and he is animated by the desire as that "of the moth for the star ; of the night for the morrow", to reach the infinite :

طلبم نہایت آن کہ نہایتی ندارد
بہ نگاہ نا شکیبی بہ دل امیدواری[7]

I crave for the end of that which has no end,
With glances impatient ; with a heart full
of hope.

He seeks to express his own personality ; the longings, hopes and ideals of his own spirit that has a tendency towards the infinite. Hence the painful feeling of incompleteness. Hence the vague yearnings whose cause he has himself forgotten. This reminds us of Wordsworth who in spite of his tender devotion to nature is driven to wistful melancholy and made to write the following :

The rainbow comes and goes,
And lovely is the rose.
The moon doth with delight,
Look round her when the heavens are bare,
Waters on o starry night
Are beautiful and fair ;
The sunshine is a glorious birth ;
But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there hath past away a glory from
the earth[8].

Frenzied Passion

In his poems *Mah-i-Nau*[9] (The New Moon) and *Aftab-i-Subh*[10] (The Morning Sun) in *Bang-i-Dara*, the feeling of incompleteness is expressed in lines of pensive beauty. This feeling is heightened by the loneliness of the spirit, and the poet is driven to identify or contrast himself with objects of nature. In this process of identification or vice versa, his vague yearnings become pronounced. Nonetheless the poet becomes deeply conscious of the gift of frenzied

passion which distinguishes him from the rest of the creation, and he proudly relishes this great truth. In *Chand* he triumphantly claim :

پھر بھی اے ماہ مبیں میں اور ہوں تو اور ہے
درد جس پہلو میں اٹھتا ہو وہ پہلو اور ہے

جو مری ہستی کا مقصد ہے مجھے معلوم ہے
یہ چمک وہ ہے جبیں جس سے تری محروم ہے[11]

Even then o resplendent moon ! you and
 I must differ,
The bosom which nestles pain is a bosom
 far unique.
The object of my existence is fully known
 to me,
This flash your face so sadly lacks.

This note of triumph and cheerful hope is struck in many other poems, for example in *Aftab-i-Subh* and *Gul-i-Rangin*[12] (The Red Rose) in *Bang-i-Dara*. Addressing the rose the poet gives a wistful expression to his own incompleteness, but is suddenly heartened at the realization that he possesses a rare gift which has been denied to the former :

اس چمن میں مَیں سراپا سوز و ساز آرزو
اور تیری زندگانی بے گداز آرزو[13]

In this garden I am all inflamed with
 desire,
And your life is bereft of this burning
 passion.

Thus his nature poems begin to reflect, here and there, the destiny of man and celebrate his glorious role ; a subject which occupies all his later poetry and has been dealt with passion and vigour in the treatment of the philosophy of ego.

Symbols

Nature is not only the symbol of peace, kinship and benevolence : the scope of its purposiveness far exceeds the one perceived by the romanticpoets. A careful study of Iqbal's poems on nature reveals that the poet has associated with nature the principle of movement which fits in with the philosophy of constant action. For him all the stars and planets are on the move and they symbolize the essential purpose of life. This explains his special leanings towards these objects of nature.

He has great weakness for stars on which he has expressed himself with repeated enthusiasm. They also communicate to him the lesson of harmony and unity as in "*Bazm-i-Anjum*[14] (The Assembly of Stars) a poem remarkable for its gorgeous imagery. The myriads of stars essentially convey to him the message of constant movement. These stars are very aptly suggestive of a caravan on the move, and the poet employs this metaphor rather frequently. *Surud-i-Anjum*[15] (The Song of the Stars) marks the culmination of this group of poems.

The poet seems to be carried away by the symphony of movement as the stars sing to him the song of constant change in the universe. The streams and breezes communicate to him the same message of endeavour and ceaseless activity.

He is so much enamoured of these objects that he employs them in the pattern of his beautiful imagery with the consummate skill of a master. The objects of nature for him become symbolic of certain values and principles. The first flower that blooms in the spring becomes the symbol of life and its potentialities :

بخامۂ کہ خط زندگی رقم زدہ است
نوشتہ اند پیامی بہ برگ رنگینم

دلم بہ دوش و نگاہم بہ عبرت امروز
شہید جلوۂ فردا و تازہ آئینم[16]

With the pen which has recorded my
life's fate,
A message has been left on my
coloured petal.
My heart is lost in yesterday; my eyes
are set on today's lesson,
I am dying to behold tomorrow's
splendour.
My code of life is fresh and new.

The spring reveals to him the hidden mystery of the universe:

خاک چمن وا نمود ، راز دل کائنات
بود و بنود صفات
جلوه گری های ذات
آنچه تو دانی حیات
آنچه تو خوانی ممات
ہیچ ندارد ثبات
خاک چمن وا نمود ، راز دل کائنات[17]

The garden soil has revealed the secret
of the universe,
The existence and non-existence of
Attributes,
The manifestations of Being.
What you know of life,
What you call death,
None endures.
The garden soil has revealed the secret
of the universe.

The dew represents the fervent desire to guards one's ego:

من عیش ہم آغوشی دریا نہ خریدم
آن بادہ کہ از خویش رباید نہ چشیدم
از خود نہ رمیدم
ز آفاق بریدم
بر لالہ چکیدم[18]

I did not accept the luxury of the sea's
tight embrace,
I did not taste the wine that robs one
of self.
I did not flee from self,
I cut off myself from horizons,
And trickled on the tulip.

The poet is particularly allured of the tulip and the firefly, which stand as symbols of frenzied passion. Firefly has inspired him to write two very exquisite poems which strike for their colourful imagery and splendid music. Tulip is one of the most frequently used word in Iqbal's poetical works and is employed in a multicoloured riot of simile and metaphor. In his fascinating poem *Lala-i-Sahra*[19] (The Tulip of the Desert) the poet identifies himself with the flower. This leaning towards the above-mentioned objects is apparently the result of the fundamental importance which the poet attaches to love and which they so aptly symbolize.

Pantheism

Iqbal's treatment of nature, at one stage, shows unmistakable signs of pantheism. One of Prof. McTaggert's letters written to Iqbal after his return from England, as mentioned earlier, also reveals that Iqbal was then exposed to the influence of pantheistic thought.

The element of pantheism in his nature poetry creates another point of resemblance between Iqbal and some of the European romanticists like Wordsworth, Goethe and Shelley. Two poems of *Bang-i-Dara*, namely, *Jugnu*[20] (The Firefly) and *Chand* are the typical examples of this trend of thought.

Idea and Interpretation

Iqbal's treatment of nature is free from rigid uniformity, much as his concept of nature is subject to change. The poet passes from idyllic descriptions and appreciation of the purely aesthetic charm of

nature to thoughts and associations inspired by scenic beauty. Thus the poet is led to contemplate over the principle underlying the glorious phenomena of nature. He does not express nature like Keats (d. 1821) through his senses alone but he intellectualizes it. His music is set to transcendental language : and his treatment of nature begins to show strong resemblance with the methods adopted by Wordsworth and Shelley. He is not merely struck by the beauty of nature, but he also exults at its inner significance. Description leads to interpretation. He moves from the external fact to the idea ; from the concrete to the abstract. In most of the later poems the idea occupies the dominant position. A casual glance at two poems on the same subject, namely, *Gul-i-Rangin* in *Bang-i-Dara* and *Gul-i-Nukhustin*[21] (The First Rose) in *Payam-i-Mashriq* will explain the whole difference. But it must be noted that even while the abstract note is dominant, Iqbal is never forgetful of the aesthetic aspect of the poem, and the romantic fervour breaks through very often. Several later poems in *Payam-i-Mashriq* reveal Iqbal in some of his highest poetic moments and exhibit his power of fusing metaphysical thought with lyrical feeling. In *Shabnam*[22] (The Dew) we come across what may perhaps be considered as the best example of this kind.

In his mission of the interpretative imagination the poet fondly takes recourse to dialogues between objects of nature. There is a considerable number of poems in which this method has been used with great effect. The spirit of the message is brought home with remarkable clarity and force, for instance, in *Nasim-o-Shabnam*[23] (The Breeze and the Dew) and *Subh-i-Chaman*[24] (A Morn in the Garden).

Nature as Background

One of the most prominent aspects of Iqbal's art is the extraordinary skill with which he employs nature as background to heighten the appeal of his message. He takes inspiration from nature and also an argument from its book. As early as the composition of *Khizr-i-Rah* Iqbal adopted this favourite scheme of creating the right psychological moment for appeal through lovely descriptions of

scenic beauty, of course adding to it the felicity of rhythm and the stately beauty of diction. A tempestuous mountain torrent, as for instance in *Saqi Namah*[25] (Ode to Saqi) strikes the music of life as it gushes through hill and rock, and consequently inspires the poet with a new vigour to deliver his cnaracteristic message at the right psychological moment. Or a desert landscape washed after a nocturnal shower and brightened with the morning glory of sunlit clouds as in *Zauq-o-Shauq*[26] (Ardour and Love) gives a powerful release to the sublime emotion of the poet. It may be pointed out that the poems prologued with nature are usually rich in musical effect and have a deep emotional appeal.

Power and Beauty

Iqbal's philosophy of *khudi* in which power plays a fundamental role, seems to have radically influenced his conception of beauty as well as his attitude towards nature. But he could still sing of nature's benevolence in the following strain :

بہار و قافلۂ لالہ ہائے صحرائی
شباب و مستی و ذوق و سرور و رعنائی
اندھیری رات میں یہ چشمکیں ستاروں کی
یہ بحر! یہ فلک نیلگوں کی پہنائی
سفر عروس قمر کا عماری شب میں
طلوع سحر و سکوت سپہر مینائی
نگاہ ہو تو بہائے نظارہ کچھ بھی نہیں
کہ بیچتی نہیں فطرت جمال و زیبائی[27]

The spring and the caravan of the
desert tulips,
A manifestation of youthfulness,
rapture, verve, joy and beauty,
The twinkles of stars in the dark of
the night,

This ocean, this vast azure sky,
The journey of the lunar bride in the
litter of the night,
The glory of sunrise, the stillness of
the blue heavens.
For an appreciative eye there is little
price to behold them,
For nature does not sell its beauty
and elegance.

But he had developed unmistakable leanings towards the austere might of nature at the cost of its soft and tender beauty. The nightingale and the peacock have no use for him now for they represent merely sound and colour which symbolize only the tender side of life :

کر بلبل و طاؤس کی تقلید سے توبہ
بلبل فقط آواز ہے طاؤس فقط رنگ[28]

Vow to shun the imitation of the
peacock and the nightingale,
The nightingale is mere voice,
The peacock is mere colour.

The poet is now impressed by the rugged grandeur of nature. Only the wild desert and mountain are the home of ideal humanity :

فطرت کے مقاصد کی کرتا ہے نگہبانی
یا بندۂ صحرائی یا مرد کہستانی[29]

The objectives of nature are guarded
By a desert-dweller or a man from the
mountains.

All conceptions of might and grandeur become associated with the wild in nature :

یہ حسن و لطافت کیوں، وہ قوت وشوکت کیوں
بلبل چمنستانی ، شہباز بیابانی[30]

Why this beauty and grace,
Why that power and majesty ?
The nightingale belongs to the garden,
The hawk to the desert.

Conquest of Nature

The poet who in his early days found himself hopelessly isolated in his environment and would seek consolation in the warmth of nature is now inspired with no less an ideal than its very conquest. He has gradually realized that man stands far higher in stature in relation to nature because he is in possession of a creative mind which nature utterly lacks. By possession of this virtue not only is the superiority of man established over nature, but it is also given to the creative mind to subdue and overpower it. Man, in other words, is ordained with the mission of establishing supremacy over nature. The birth of Adam was in fact a phenomenon of supreme import, a vital indication in that direction :

نعره زد عشق که خونین جگری پیدا شد
حسن لرزید که صاحب نظری پیدا شد
فطرت آشفت که از خاک جهان مجبور
خودگری، خود شکنی، خود نگری پیداشد[31]

Love hailed the appearance of one with
a blood-stained heart,
Beauty trembled that a master of vision
had come.
Nature was distressed that in the world
of constraint and compulsion
Had emerged a being
Who was self-creating, self-mortifying
and self-seeing.

In a poem of rare charm where the poet describes Adam being sung a song of welcome by the spirit of the universe, the idea is still more explicity brought home :

ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بادل یہ گھٹائیں
یہ گنبد افلاک یہ خاموش فضائیں
یہ کوہ ، یہ صحرا ، یہ سمندر ، یہ ہوائیں
تھیں پیش نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں

آئینہ ایام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ

سمجھے گا زمانہ تری آنکھوں کے اشارے
دیکھیں گے تجھے دور سے گردوں کے ستارے
ناپید ترے بحر تخیل کے کنارے
پہنچیں گے فلک تک تری آہوں کے شرارے

تعمیری خودی کر ، اثر آہ رسا دیکھ[32]

In your charge are these rolling clouds,
This dome of the heavens, this still space,
These mountains, deserts, oceans and winds.
Till yesterday you watched the blandishments of the angels,
In the mirror of time behold your own today.
The world will follow the wink of your eyes,
The stars of the heavens will gaze at you from a distance,
Unseen are the shores of the seas of your imagination,
The sparks of your sighs will shoot up to skies.
Build up your ego. see the result of intense sighs.

In the conquest of nature lies man's destiny. According to Iqbal nature creates countless barriers in the path of human development. Therefore, it becomes imperative that in order to develop the ego these barriers must be overcome. Every obstacle put by nature is an incentive to greater development of the ego, for it thrives on obstacles created by nature. Thus nature becomes man's great rival and must needs be overpowered for the fortification of his *khudi* or self. The purposiveness of nature in this manner assumes an entirely different significance from the one conceived by the poet in his early days or as it was interpreted by some romantic poets, especially, Wordsworth. At this stage nature does not so much enchant the poet as offer him a field for conquest. The poet describes it as God's masterpiece, which it is given to man to improve and beautify according to his own taste and intuition. The savage and the uncouth in nature receives refinement and artistic glory at the hands of man as the poet has pointed out in a dialogue between God and man reproduced earlier.[33]

A general survey of Iqbal's treatment and concept nf nature will leave the impression that Iqbal started writing nature poems under the influence of the Western romanticists, though the creative in him gave his poetry at every step a positively individual stamp. He looked upon nature not as mere outdoor forms, but used the word in a very wide sense, perceiving it as a great force with certain basic principles underlying its working. He borrowed his symblos and imagery mainly from the domain of nature ; used it as the background to sustain the significance of his message ; derived certain values and principles from it, and as time progressed, he came to enlarge the original scope of purposiveness associated with nature and bequeathed to him by the romanticists. Under the impact of the philosophy of the ego, his concept of beauty and especially of nature changed radically and he came to regard the latter as a means towards the fulfilment of man's destiny and the fortificatication and perfection of his ego. And finally the poet who had started with romantic descriptions of scenic beauty in terms of wistful melancholy found nature bereft of feeling as well as an active mind and too small and frail to contain the impact of his creative madness :

سما سکتا نہیں پہنائے فطرت میں مرا سودا
غلط تھا اے جنوں شاید ترا اندازۂ صحرا[34]

Nature in its vastness cannot contain my
frenzied passion,
O madness ! your view of the desert was,
perhaps, not true.

And feeling ungratified even with the conquest of nature, he consoled his heart with the persistent quest for worlds anew :

ستاروں سے آگے جہاں اور بھی ہیں
ابھی عشق کے امتحاں اور بھی ہیں[35]

There are worlds galore beyond the stars,
There are still more trials of love in store.

11

SYMBOLISM

Iqbal is fond of symbols and he prefers to talk in the language of evocatives. For him symbolism is the best and most effective form of poetic expression. He has advanced this view more than once in his lyrics, for instance :

برہنہ حرف نہ گفتن کمال گویائیست
حدیث خلوتیان جز بہ رمز و ایما نیست[1]

Not to speak out openly is the ideal
form of expression,
Men who talk secrets use the language
of allusions and suggestions.

Apparently, by laying stress on the symbolic style he is following the tradition of Persian mystical poetry. Symbolism started very early in Persian poetry and its first great exponent, as mentioned earlier, is the mystic quatrain writer Shaikh Abu Said Abil-Khair. The mystics did not change the language of poetry but lent new meanings and connotations to the current poetic vocabulary. Rumi very explicitly showed his inclination for this style when he said :

خوشتر آن باشد کہ سر دلبران
گفتہ آید در حدیث دیگران[2]

How far more pleasant it is,
To communicate the secret of
sweethearts in alien context.

Iqbal was devoted to Rumi and followed his style, genre and attitude. He kept up the symbolic tradition of Rumi and manifested his love of symbols again and again. For example :

پرده بر گیرم و در پرده سخن میگویم
تیغ خونریزم و خود را به نیامی دارم[3]

I lift the veil and yet converse in
veiled language,

Like a bloodshedding sword, I keep
myself in sheath.

Symbolism gave a new dimension to Persian poetry. By retaining the traditional diction, mode of expression, imagery and evocatives the poet imparted rich ambiguity as well as great depth to the contents of his poetry. The transcendental mystical realities flowed from his pen in exquisite sensuous images and provided a feast of thought and emotion to the mystic and non-mystic alike. Iqbal has, for instance, addressed the Divine Being in lyrical language of great beauty and passion in the opening *ghazals* of *Zabur-i-Ajam* and *Bal-i-Jibril*, but their word and idiom, image and emotion hardly distinguish them from an ordinary *ghazal*.

Apart from the traditional symbolism of mystic poetry, however, Iqbal has selected certain words to be used as symbols of great significance. He has invested them with an entirely new meaning. These words strike for their intimate associations with the ideas or emotions which the poet wishes to express, and give his poetry a distinctly original and individual colour. Most of these words come from nature. From the very beginning the poet was fascinated by its glory. Therefore, from nature he borrowed many of his symbols and modified them by a predominant passion or by thoughts and images awakened by it.

One of the favourite symbols in Iqbal's poetry is *shahin* (eagle).

He has always used it with special fondess and fervour as the paragon of power, majesty and dignity, and lays great stress on acquiring its virtues. In a letter he thus explains the significance he has attributed to *shahin* :

"شاہین کی تشبیہ محض شاعرانہ تشبیہ نہیں - اس جانور میں اسلامی فقر کی تمام خصوصیات پائی جاتی ہیں - (۱) خود دار اور غیرت مند ہے کہ اور کے ہاتھ کا مارا ہوا شکار نہیں کھاتا - بے تعلق ہے کہ آشیانہ نہیں بناتا (۳) بلند پرواز ہے (۴) خلوت پسند ہے - تیز نگاہ ہے [4]

Shahin is not a mere poetical simile. This bird combines in itself all the characteristics of Islamic *faqr*. It is self-respecting and has a sense of honour as it does not touch the game killed by others. It keeps itself aloof from worldly concerns, as it does not build a nest. It soars high, loves solitude and has a sharp vision."

For these and some other characteristics of *shahin*. the poet has always idealized it and used the word in a rich variety of simile and metaphor. He has composed four poems on the eagle and the hawk. Three of these are in the form of dialogue while the fourth is an exciting monologue. In *Pand-i-Baz ba Bachcha-i-Khish* (The Hawk's Advice to His Young One) the poet has highlighted the hawk's love of intrepidity, power, austerity and the seclusion of mountains and deserts.[5] In *Shahin-o-Mahi* (The Eagle and The Fish) the peot underscores the eagle's innate love of heights and its contempt for the land and water below :

زد بانگ کہ شاہینم و کارم بہ زمین نیست
صحراست کہ دریاست تہ بال و پر ماست

بگذر ز سر آب و بہ پہنای ہوا ساز
این نکتہ نہ بیند مگر آن دیدہ کہ بیناست

The hawk shouted : What have I to do with the earth ?
The desert or sea, both lie below my wings.
Give up water and take to air,
Only eyes that are awake will catch this point.

In a two-verse dialogue, namely, *Chiunti aur Uqab* (The Ant and The Eagle) the ant wants the eagle to divulge the secret of its importance. The eagle replies :

تو رزق اپنا ڈھونڈتی ہے خاک راہ میں
میں نہ سپہر کو نہیں لاتا نگاہ میں[7]

You search your food in the dust of the pathway.
I attach little importance even to skies.

In *Shahin* the poet has idealized eagle as a *darvish* of the birds' world. In a monologue this mighty bird takes pride in its disdain of the soft and luxurious atmosphere of the garden, flowers and spring and the sentimental associations and values attached with them on the one hand and in its love of the desert air, saintly seclusion and vast celestial heights on the other.

بیاباں کی خلوت خوش آتی ہے مجھ کو
ازل سے ہے فطرت مری راہبانہ

نہ باد بہاری ، نہ گلچیں نہ گلشن
نہ بیماری نغمۂ عاشقانہ

ہوائے بیاباں سے ہوتی ہے کاری
جوانمرد کی ضربت غازیانہ

یہ پورب ، یہ پچھم چکوروں کی دنیا
مرا نیلگوں آسماں بیکرانہ

پرندوں کی دنیا کا درویش ہوں میں
کہ شاہین بناتا نہیں آشیانہ[8]

The seclusion of the desert appeals to me,
My nature has been ascetic since creation.
No spring breeze here, no garden, no invader of the garden flowers,
No malady of singing love ditties.
The air of the desert gives mighty strength
To the striking power of the brave.
The east and the west—these form the world of the pheasant,
To me belongs the limitless blue sky.
I am *darvish* of the birds' world,
For the eagle builds no nest.

Iqbal has always associated Islamic civilization with the desert where it originated and flourished in its early stages. One of the reasons of his love for the eagle and the tulip is their association with the vast expanse of the desert. In *Shahin* the resemblance between the eagle and his ideal Muslim is complete, because both love to live an austere and daring life for which the desert provides an ideal ground and both wish to be free from the bonds of limited confines.

In another poem he has imparted the following advice to the youth :

نہیں تیرا نشیمن قصر سلطانی کے گنبد پر
تو شاہیں ہے بسیرا کر پہاڑوں کی چٹانوں میں[9]

Your abode is not on the royal dome,
You are an eagle, live on mountain cliffs.

Again :

تو ای شاہین نشیمن در چمن کردی ازان ترسم
ہوای او ببال تو دہد پرواز کوتاہی[10]

O eagle! you have built a nest in the garden,
I fear its air may reduce the flying might of your wings.

Another favourite symbol used by the poet is the tulip. Amongst the objects of nature which he has imbued with special significance the tulip enjoys great distinction. Through it he evoked emotions, experiences and ideas which by a lesser poet, perhaps, could not have been stirred by any other argument of colours, sounds and forms. The rich imaginative genius of the poet helped him seek and seize new relationships with this lovely flower. Though tulip was a favourite flower of the Persian poet and was employed by him in a riot of simile and metaphor, yet with Iqbal it assumed an entirely fresh significance. He created with it certain emotional, intellectual and cultural associations unknown to Persian poetry.

So deeply enamoured of this flower was the poet that he not only composed lovely poems on it, but also gave the quatrain section of *Payam-i-Mashriq* the name *Lala-i-Tur* (The Tulip of Mount Sina). Again, in *Zabur-i 'Ajam* the opening couplets of many lyrics started with the word *lala*. The flower has not only aesthetic appeal for the poet, but it also fascinates him for a few more reasons.

In the early stages of his poety Iqbal was strongly inclined towards pantheistic philosophy. He thus looked upon the beautiful objects of nature like the tulip and the rose as the manifestations of Divine beauty. For instance, he expressed this idea in the following couplet :

حسن ازل کہ پردۂ لالہ و گل میں ہے نہاں
کہتے ہیں بیقرار ہے جلوۂ عام کے لیے[11]

The eternal beauty that is veiled in the
tulip and the rose,

Is said to be restless to expose itself to
universal gaze.

Later, the tulip symbolized for the poet the creative impulse of life. In this pretty flower he saw a long history of desperate courage, resistance and creative passion before it could assume the rich glory of form and colour. Says the tulip :

در تنگنای شاخ بسی پیچ و تاب خورد
تا جوہرم بہ جلوہ گہ رنگ و بو رسید[12]

What travail it faced in the tender passage
of the branch,
Before my spirit expressed itself in the
world of colour and odour.

It became a symbol of life in its evolution. What brought it into existence and imparted it its present lustre, says the poet, was the urge to grow.

In moments of loneliness or in a flush of spiritual exhilaration when the poet is driven to identify or contrast himself with the objects of nature, he discovers a close kinship between himself and the tulip and takes great consolation in this identification. Both suffer from a feeling of incompletness, but both are animated by an irresistible drive for self-expression. In this struggle the flower blossoms into

life from the foliage, while the poet breaks away from his surroundings to attain the goal of complete individuality.

In the poem *Lala-i-Sahra*, which is an exquisite combination of thought and melody, the poet unfolds the theme in the following verses :

بھٹکا ہوا راہی میں ، بھٹکا ہوا راہی تو
منزل ہے کہاں تیری اے لالۂ صحرائی

تو شاخ سے کیوں پھوٹا ، میں شاخ سے کیوں ٹوٹا
اک جذبۂ پیدائی اک لذت یکتائی[13]

I am a traveller who has lost his way,
And a wandering traveller are you.
Where lies your destination o tulip of the desert ?
Why did you spring from the branch ?
Why did I break away from it ?
A passion to emerge,
A joy of being unique.

In the last line of the poem the poet craves for the qualities of silence, compassion, joyfulness and elegance which the tulip inspires in him.

اے باد بیابانی مجھ کو بھی عنایت ہو
خاموشی و دلسوزی ، سرمستی و رعنائی[14]

The deep red colour of the flower with an imaginary scar within stirred in the poet powerful associations of love, devotion and sacrifice. He, therefore, identified it with the precious blood of

the martyr and his dedicated soul. The Muslim hero Tariq in his prayers would thus address the Almighty :

خیاباں میں ہے منتظر لالہ کب سے
قبا چاہیے اس کو خون عرب سے[15]

Since when has the tulip been waiting
in the flower-bed,
Does it need a tunic made from the
Arab's blood ?

Or the poet would offer its petals at the martyr's grave :

سر خاک شہیدی برگہای لالہ میپا شم
کہ خونش با نہال ملت ما سازگار آمد[16]

I am strewing tulips over the dust of
the martyr
Whose blood has blended richly with
the plant—our Nation.

In his poetry Iqbal has persistently laid stress on a life of ceaseless struggle. The more intense the struggle, the brighter are the chances for the development of the ego. He rejects the life of ease and comfort and insists on hardship and strife to bring out the best in man. Thus he prefers the life of the desert in its austre might to that of the city. The tulip again becomes a symbol, because the poet always associates it with the desert. He completely identifies himself with the flower :

لالۂ صحرائیم از طرف خیابانم برید
در ہوای دشت و کہسار و بیابانم برید[17]

I am a desert tulip ; remove me from
the flower-bed,
Take me away to breathe the desert
and mountain air.

The poet has compared a Muslim to the tulip of the mountain. The tulip blooms with an air of freedom in the rocky wilds. This reminds the poet of a Muslim whose virile civilization emerged from the desert. Both, therefore, have a desert background with its austere grandeur. Again, since the tulip stands for love and anguish, it has become for the poet an ideal symbol of a Muslim :

مسلم چشم از جهان بربسته چیست
فطرت این دل بحق پیوسته چیست
لالهٔ کو بر سر کوہی دمید
گوشهٔ دامان گلچینی ندید
آتش او شعلهٔ گیرد به بر
از نفسهای نخستین سحر[18]

What is a Muslim with his eyes closed
on the world ?
What is the nature of this man devoted
to God ?
A tulip which bloomed on mountain
heights,
And no one ever plucked it.
Its burning passion has inflamed it
With the first breath of dawn.

Amongst other symbols in Iqbal's poetry are the moth and the firefly. The poet looks upon the moth as the symbol of love and ardour :

رمز سوز آموز از پروانهٔ
در شرر تعمیر کن کاشانهٔ[19]

Learn the secret of burning
from the moth,
Make your abode in flames.

He has usually admired the moth for its spirited welcome of death in flames and its ideal of self-sacrifice in love.

As regards the firefly the poet has idealized it as a symbol of love and burning passion and composed two beautiful poems on this glowing creature, one each in Urdu and Persian. Both are steeped in rich imagination and strike for their sparkling imagery and diction. They are marked by a host of exquisite similes and metaphors and deserve to be included in his finest artistic creations. In the poet's view the firefly has a higher stature than the moth because the latter has to depend on fire for consumption, while the firefly is its own lamp in the dark of the night, and is itself the paragon of light and fire. It knows itself and is proud of its burning passion. This idea is portrayed in the following quatrain :

توان بی منت بیگانگان سوخت
نه پنداری که من پروانه کیشم
اگر شب تیره تر از چشم آهوست
خود افروزم چراغ راه خویشم[20]

It is possible to burn without obligation to others,
Do not think that I follow the moth's way.
Even if the night is darker than the deer's eye,
Myself I kindle the lamp for my own path.

Thus firefly becomes the symbol of the passion for life, light and love.

The flute—*nai*—is another favourite symbol in Iqbal's poetry. *Nai* was first introduced as a powerful symbol of anguish and restless desire by Rumi, who opened his monumental *mathnavi* with the song

of the reed. The reed bemoans over its separation from the reed-land, and by its wailings makes others weep. Thus *nai* stands as a fascinating symbol of human soul, which has been cut off from its original home and pines to go back to it. Iqbal's associations with the flute go back to Rumi's *mathanavi*, and for him it is a symbol of anguish and love. He also employs it as a simile and metaphor. To give a few instances :

از نیستان همچو نی پیغام ده[21]

Like a reed convey a message
from the reed-land.

نی برون از نیستان آباد شد
نغمه از زندان او آزاد شد[22]

The reed flourished outside the
reed-bed,
The melody freed itself from its
prison.

نغمه ها اندر نی او خون شده[23]

Songs have frozen in his flute.

One of the principles of Iqbal's philosophy is that life is dynamic. He reverts to the theme of movement time and again and interprets it in beautiful symbols borrowed from nature. Thus stars, breezes, brooks, tides and waves all become symbols of life and forward movement and communicate to him the message of ceaseless activity. The stars sing to him the song of perpetual change while the waves bring to him the lesson of constant movement. In a short poem *Afkar-i-Anjum* a star addresses the other in the following manner :

سفر اندر سرشت ما نهادند
ولی این کاروان را منزلی نیست[24]

We were destined to travel,

But this caravan is denied the journey's end.

Again, while the stars observe and recount the revolutionary changes on the earth in a musical symphony, they repeat the words :

مینگریم و میرویم[25]

We see, and we move on.

The breeze, likewise narrates its journey :

ز روی بحر و سر کوہسار میایم[26]

I come from across the ocean and the mountain.

The wave of the river sings to the poet :

هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم[27]

I live if I move, I perish, If I don't.

Thus the entire phenomenon of nature hums with a dynamic symphony. To bring home the principle of movement the poet repeatedly employs words like *parvaz* (flight) and *sair* (movement). *Lazzat-i-parvaz*, or the joy of flying is a favourite epithet with Iqbal.

مرا ز لذت پرواز آشنا کردند

تو در فضای چمن آشیانہ میخواہی[28]

I was intiated into the joy of flying,

And you want a nest in the garden !

بہ آشیان نہ نشینم ز لذت پرواز
گہی بہ شاخ گلم گاہ برلب جویم[29]

The joy of flying does not let me sit
in the nest,
I skip from the twig of the flower to
the bank of the rivulet.

زندگی جز لذت پرواز نیست
آشیان با فطرت او ساز نیست[30]

Life is naught but the joy of
flying,
The nest is not in accord with
its nature.

The poet has borrowed the image of movement from the sea, the river, the brook and the tide :

سوتوں کو ندیوں کا شوق، بحر کا ندیوں کو عشق
موجۂ بحر بیقرار ماہ تمام کے لیے[31]

The brooks pine for the rivers, and the
rivers for the sea,
And the waves of the ocean crave for the
moon.

The poet brings into bold relief the principle of movement by comparing the stillness of the mighty mountain with the moving gusto of the litle ant in the form of a lively exchange of words :

آتی تھی کوہ سے صدا راز حیات ہے سکوں
کہتا تھا مور ناتواں لطف خرام اور ہے[32]

The mountain muttered, "The secret of
life lies in stillness",
The frail ant responded, "The joy of
movement is greater far."

Amongst other symbols of Iqbal "Arab" stands for Islamic and "Ajam" for other values. Laila and Sulaima again symbolize Islamic values and culture. Mahmud is the symbol of faith, love and power. Parviz stands for imperialism and Farhad or Kuhkan for the worker.

These randorn examples will reveal the scope of Iqbal's art of symbolism and the consummate skill with which he employs his fertile imagination in the service of his message. He has the unique gift of fusing his profound thought with lyrical feeling which adds to its impact. The abstract philosophical thought is, thus, expressed in the evocative language of the lyric with beauty and virtuosity.

———

12

IQBAL'S GROWING IMAGE IN IRAN

Iqbal's fame as a great poet of Persian language had travelled slowly to Iran during his lifetime. The communication gap between Iran and the Subcontinent was appalling, and the close cultural and historical ties between the Muslims of these regions had been enfeeled by British imperialism. Under these unhappy circumstances it was very difficult for Iqbal's message to cross the geographical frontiers easily and penetrate into a country whose rich spiritual and cultural heritage had fascinated the poet-philosopher and whose language he had so ardently chosen for the proper dissemination of his message. However, a limited galaxy of scholars in Iran had caught glimpses of his poetry and was overawad by its lofty contents and exquisite art. This included eminent persons like Prof. Saeed Naficy and Sayyid Muhammad Muhit Tabatabai.

Early Admirers

The beginning of this contact goes back to the late 20s of the present century when an Iranian scholar Sayyid Muhammad Ali Da'iul-Islam, Professor of Iranian Studies at Nizam College, Hyderabad, Deccan, read a scholarly paper on Iqbal's poetry in Hyderabad in April 1928. The paper was published in the form of a booklet and distributed in Iran. This was Iqbal's first introduction to that country as a poet-philosopher. In this the author had discussed Iqbal's concept of *khudi* and his emphasis on the unity of Muslim nations in the background of their contemporary political and social conditions. The professor had even severely criticised the rising tide of politial and racial chauvinism in Iran.

Next in the chronological order comes Sayyid Muhammad Muhit Tabatabai, who as a devotee of Iqbal made a determined

effort to project the image of the great poet in his country. His introduction to Iqbal had been purely accidental. In 1926, he happened to come across Iqbal's Persian works *Asrar-o-Rumuz* and *Payam-i-Mashriq* in Abadan in possession of certain Indian Muslim employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was fascinated by these. He managed to get hold of *Zabur-i-'Ajam* also, and was still more captivated by its contents and expression. He also had the privilage to enter into correspondence with the great poet.

When the Indian Nobel-Laureate Rabindra Nath Tagore was invited to Iran, partly to attract Indian, especially, Parsi capital to that country, Tabatabai made frantic efforts for extension of an invitation to Iqbal to visit the land of Sa'di and Hafiz, but to no success. Later, in an article he expressed deep regret over the colossal ignorance of the Imperial Court regarding Iqbal's mighty stature as a poet and a thinker. He pointed out that the unseemly attitude of the great ignorants of the Court had enormously dismayed men of vision in the country. who held that no person in India was more suitable for such an invitation than Allama Muhammad Iqbal! All the time Muhit Tabatabai craved to meet the poet in Iran or abroad, but unhappily this fond dream was never fulfilled.

Next to Muhit Tabatabai. who remains to be the only survivor of Iqbal's contemporary admirers in Iran, the scholar who gained access to Iqbal's Persian works and was swayed by their beauty and majesty, was Professor Saeed Naficy, one of the most renowned intellectuals of modern Iran. Naficy had a chance to read *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, presented to him by an Indian scholar, and was thrilled by its sublime art and thought. It prompted him to pay homage to Iqbal in a letter, who sent him a copy of *Payam-i-Mashriq* for a further study of his works. Naficy seems to have been spellbound by its magnificent quality and paid repeated tributes to its great author in another letter. The poet replied to both these letters which were published much later in 1951 in ***Iqbal Nameh***, a collection of papers and poems read on Iqbal Day celebrations in Tehran.[2] These letters dated 26 August and 4 November 1932, comprise rare specimens of Iqbal's Persian prose, and were reproduced in Pakistan in 1977 in a

book on Iqbal's Persian poetry written by the present author.[3] These letters reveal that eminent scholars in Iran were anxious to see Iqbal in their midst ; but according to Tabatabai, some interested persons stubbornly resisted this attempt. By these he obviously means the coterie of chauvinists and devotees of pre-Islamic Iranian civilization who wielded unquestioned influence in Reza Shah's (1925-1941) court.

Invitation

When Reza Shah's Government decided to celeberate the millennium of Firdausi, the world-famous epic poet of Iran in 1934, it had by then grown conscious of Iqba'l importance, and a formal invitation was extended to him to participate in the celebrations. The following brief news appeared in a box in the Urdu daily *Inqilab*, Lahore, on 29 April 1934 :

> "Allama Iqbal has received a letter from the Education Minister of Iran and Chairman National Monuments Society, Tehran, in which Allama has been requested to attend the millennium celebrations of Firdausi and thus honour the people of Iran."

The newspaper added that Allama Iqbal was indisposed and if granted recovery by the Providence he would try to participate in these celebrations.[4]

In another box news, datelined Bombay, the same newspaper reported on 16 September 1934 that His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, the King of Iran, had invited certain Indian celebrities to the millennium celebrations of Firdausi, the immortal poet of Iran. "It is reported", the newspaper added "that the invitees include Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal and the Parsi High Priest Dastur Nusnirwan."[5] Iqbal, however, could not attend the millennium.

Tabatabai was the first Iranian scholar who wrote a lengthy article on Iqbal's life and works on his death in 1938. This glowing, comprehensive tribute provided the Iranian reader with an occasion to have a deeper look into Iqbal's art and thought.

Celebrations

During World War II, a literary society known as *Anjuman-i-Ravabit-i-Adabi-yi-Iran-o-Hind* (The Indo-Iranian Society of Literary Relations) was founded in Tehran. The Society celebrated the 7th death anniversary of Iqbal. Tabatabai produced a special Iqbal Supplement of his literary magazine *Muhit* on the occasion. This publication included many articles written by Tabatabai himself. It was a positive, forward step in the direction of Iqbal studies in Iran. These writings revealed Tabatabai's past yearnings to meet Iqbal which were frustrated repeatedly by an irony of circumstances.

It was during these celebrations that Iran's poet-laureate Bahar, held in high esteem in the country not only for his mastery of the poetic art but also for his vast scholarship and eventful political career, paid his unforgettable homage to Iqbal by acknowledging the contemporary age as the age of Iqbal.[6] The change that came in Bahar after studying Iqbal was incredible since the same poet-laureate had betrayed supreme ignorance of Iqbal's poetic greatness at Firdausi's millennium. But within a few years he had not only acknowledged Iqbal's undeniable superiority over all his contemporaries but had also started emulating him by inserting Iqbal's verses into his own as a mark of appreciation. Henceforth Bahar not only held Iqbal in the highest esteem but also cherished a strong desire to visit Iqbal's tomb in Lahore. An invitation was extended to him by the Government of Pakistan in 1950 to fulfil his desire, but failing health did not allow him to avail of this opportunity. It is a strange coincidence that in 1953 Bahar died on the 21st of April, the same date on which Iqbal had died in 1938.

An incident which provides a glimpse into the mind of the fanatic lovers of pre-Islamic Iranian culture and civilization and their indifference and even hostility to Islamic traditions in that cauntry occured in India when a delegation consisting of three Iranian professors visited the Subcontinent during World War II. One of these professors, who taught ancient Iranian languages and pre-Islamic Iranian culture in Tehran University, was known for his open hatred for Arab and Islamic traditions. A journalist happened to put him

a question regarding Iqbal's popularity in Iran. Upon this the professor replied that Iqbal was a local poet and no body knew him in Iran. This Incident was reported in the press and caused a great shock to Muslims all over the Subcontinent, and many letters and st a tements in the press vehementally criticised the professor's limited knowledge and outlook. His description of Iqbal, who enjoyed international fame, and parts of whose works had been rendered into various languages of the world, could only evoke laughter and even derision. The other members of the goodwill delegation, felt greatly embarrassed at the behaviour of their colleague and later made amends in Lahore by visiting the poet's grave and laying a wreath on it. Muhit Tabatabai has made a pointed refernce to this incident and added that he wanted to sooth the injury which the undesirable remarks of a member of the delegation had done to the Muslims of India. "But." he adds, "the country's expediencies and political exigencies did not permit me to make amends for it." This subtle and meaningful remark throws light on the influence which people like the above-mentioned professor exercised on the minds of racists and political chauvinists in Iran.

Birth of Pakistan

Iqbal's wide popularity in Iran began with the birth of Pakistan in 1947 when the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries resulted in the revival of old historical, spiritual and cultural ties between the two Muslim countries. They also inevitably led to the introduction of the greatest of all Persian poets of the Subcontinent—Iqbal—to the people of Iran who had rather little knowledge and hazy ideas about the precious common heritage of the two countries, and about the poet himself. They had to be reminded of these relations and also to be told about the magnificent contribution that the poet-philosopher of Pakistan had made to the exceedingly rich traditions of Persian poetry. The embassy of Pakistan in Tehran started the noble practice of celebrating Iqbal Day on 21st April—the day of the poet's death—every year. The response on the part of Iranian scholars, poets and writers was excellent. To this the learned Press Attache in the Embassy Khwaja Abdul Hamid Irfani

made no mean contribution. He was the moving spirit behind these annual celebrations ; and by his personal influence and wide contacts attracted professors, politicians, poets and writers to participate in these functions and read papers and poems on the occasion. These included some of the most outstanding writers and litterateurs of the country like the poet-laureate Bahar ; one of the greatest lyrical poets of modern Iran Rahi Mu'ayyiri, and other distinguished poets and scholars including Saeed Naficy, Lutf Ali Suratgar, Ali Akbar Dihkhuda, Hasan Taqi Zadeh, Muhammad Hijazi, Sadiq Sarmad, Amiri Firuzkuhi, Muhammad Muin etc. In one of these meetings Bahar came out with the following tribute to the great poet-philosopher.

"In Iqbal I find the noblest culmination of the nine hundred-year old endeavours of Muslim crusaders, scholars and writers."[7]

In the same function Hasan Taqi Zadeh, the Speaker of the Iranian Senate, lauded Iqbal's concept of *khudi* in the background of Western philosophy as well as Islamic mysticism and Rumi's sublime thought. Rahi Mu'ayyiri composed an ode in emulation of an exquisite *ghazal* of Iqbal. The Court Poet Sadiq Sarmad composed a long poem on Iqbal and later proved himself to be more devoted to him by paying him repeated tributes. Lutf Ali Suratgar, who later became President of the Pahlavi University of Shiraz, found amazing kinship of spirit and mystical perceptions between Iqbal and Hafiz and quoted a *ghazal* of Iqbal.[8] Ali Akbar Dihkhuda, one of the most eminent linguists and scholars of modern Iran and a poet of note, also celebrated Iqbal as the common, invaluable heritage of Iran and Pakistan.[9] Since then numerous poems and articles have been written on Iqbal by scholars and professors in Iran.

By early 1950s Iqbal's greatness had been recognized by political leaders outside literary circles. For instance, a message from the famous national hero Dr. Mossadeq was broadcast from Radio Tehran on Iqbal Day celebrations in Tehran in April 1952 in which he had stressed the role of the great poet in his fight against British imperialism.[10]

Books

About this time the Iranian magazines and weeklies had adopted the welcome practice of inserting selected verses from Iqbal in their columns. This interest prompted some of Iqbal's Iranian admirers to write books on him.

The earliest book on Iqbal in Persian, namely, *Iqbal Mutafakkir-o-Sha'ir-i-Islam* (Iqbal the Philosopher-Poet of Islam) by Muhammad Muqtadiri, however, was published in Tehran in 1326 (s)/1947 soon after the birth of Pakistan. The author visited the Subcontinent as a member of an Iranian mission in 1946, being representative of the Ministry of Labour; Directorate General of Publications and Publicity, Government of Iran; and the Association of Iranian Journalists. During its visit to Lahore the Mission participated in the meeting held on the 10th death anniversary of Iqbal. Mr. Muqtadiri laid a wreath on the grave of the poet-philosopher on behalf of the publication and publicity media of his country, and also delivered a short speech which forms the opening chapter of the present book. This is followed by a brief account of the poet's life, appreciation of all his Persian works and a discussion of his philosophy of life at some length. The whole book is steeped in touching language and comprizes the loving tribute of a devotee. This small, illustrated book of about 100 pages bears considerable importance for being the first published work on the great poet in Iran.

The next book on Iqbal, namely, *Iqbal-i-Lahuri Sha'ir-i-Parsigu-i-Pakistan* (Iqbal the Persian Poet of Pakistan) by Mujtaba Minavi, the late Professor Emeritus of Tehran University, was published in 1948. Larger in size than the earlier work, it opened a stimulating discussion on Iqbal's philosphy, apart from an account of his life and works.

The third attempt was made by Khwaja Abdul Hamid Irfani. Entitled *Rumi-i-'Asr* it was published in 1953 in Tehran. Apart from being a biographical account, it dealt with the poet's philosophy and Rumi's deep, lasting impact on him. The author also

included in the book excerpts from the articles of a number of eminent Iranian writers.

In 1959 came out the fourth book *Iqbal-Shinasi : Hunar-o-Andishaha-i-Muhammad Iqbal* (Iqbal Studies : The Art and Thought of Muhammad Iqbal) by Sayyid Ghulam Reza Saeedi. The author is a known protagonist of Muslim unity and a lover of Iqbal and Pakistan Incidentally. he was the first Iranian to have written a book on Pakistan after independence in 1947. The present book is steeped in a spirit of deep love and total dedication. In the introduction the author remarks :

"If the Anglo-Saxon race feels proud of Shakespeare, France of Victor Hugo and Germany of Goethe, the Muslim nations in general, and the Islamic society of Iran and Pakistan in particular, rightly take pride in Iqbal."[11]

Iqbal has been presented in the book as a great poet, a great man and a great Muslim, and the whole text is coloured with deep overtones of love and devotion. The book has run into several editions.

In 1964, Ahmad Surush published the entire Persian poetry of Iqbal entited *Kulliyat-i-Ash'ar-i-Farsi-i-Maulana Muhammad Iqbal-i-Lahuri* (Collection of the Persian Poetry of Muhammad Iqbal) along with an elaborate introduction, a detailed biographical study of the poet-philospher, a critical appeciation of each of his poetical works and a short glossary. The author is devoted to Iqbal and his words are soaked in love and deep admiration. He regards Iqbal's poetry as heavenly-inspired, and describes the great poet as the cream of the one thousand-year old intellectual contribution of the Muslim people, and the glorious sun which has created a new morn in the East.[12] Out of a profound sense of devotion and here-worship he prefers to call him Maulana, a prefix exclusively reserved in Iran for the greatest mystic poet of the world Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad Rumi, and which, as he puts it, surpasses such words as Dr. Professor, Sir, and Allama etc. in sanctity and significance. The book served the essential purpose of providing the

Iranian reader with Iqbal's complete Persian works which were not easily available in the country.

In 1970, Dr. Ahmad Ahmadi Birjandi produced a book on the poet entitled *Dana-i-Raz* (The Knowner of Secrets) with its foreward by an eminent scholar, Prof. Ghulam Husain Yusufi. The book deals with both Iqbal's thought and his art and style.

In 1963, a Pakistani scholar in Tehran University Sayyid Muhammad Akram, now Chairman, Persian Department, University of the Punjab, and Principal, University Oriental College, Lahore, was awrded doctorate in litrature on his thesis on Iqbal. This was later published in Lahore in 1970 under the title *Iqbal Dar Rah-i-Maulavi* (Iqbal in Rumi's Footsteps) and reprinted in 1982. The thesis which constitutes a comprehensive survey of Iqbal's life, art and thought was written under the guidance of Professor Husain Khatibi, one of the renowned Iranian schoalrs, and makes a notable addition to the Iqbal studies conducted in Iran.

In April 1970, an Iqbal Congress was held in Tehran under the auspicies of a religious organization *Husainiyyah-i-Irshad.* It was devoted to Iqbal and it had already printed the Persian and Arabic translations of Iqbal's *Tarana-i-Milli* (The Muslim Nation's Anthem) composed in Urdu, and widely distributed it. The two-day congress was addressed by a number of distinguished scholars. Sayyid Abu'l-Fazl Zanjani welcomed Iqbal's call to Muslim unity and supported the poet's srong criticism of the concept of territorial and racial nationalism making violent inroads into the world of Islam. Sayyid Ghulam Reza Saeedi, whose book on Iqbal has been mentioned above, interpreted Iqbal's message as a "Back to the Qur'an" movement. The poet-journalist Habib Yaghmai offered some substantial proposals to popularize Iqbal's message in Iran including elegant publication of his works and regular talks on him by notable scholars on Radio Tehran. Dr. Mahdi Muhaqqiq also threw light on Iqbal's thought. Last but not least the Congress was addressed by the renowned scholar and one of the main forerunners of the Islamic Revolution of 1979 Dr. Ali Shari'ati, who in an

inspiring, comprehensive paper paid Iqbal the unique tribute of being as great a thinker as Ghazali in the history of Muslim philosophy.[13] The proceedings of the Congress were published in Tehran in 1973 under the title *Allamah Iqbal : Kungrah-i-Buzurgdasht*. (Allam Iqbal Memorial Conference).

The distinguished philosopher of modern Iran Sayyid Husain Nasr has also expressed his views on Iqbal more than once. He observes that no Islamic thinker or reformer has been able to achieve Iqbal's calibre in reviving Islamic thought in modern times. "Iqbal" he says. "lived in Pakistan, but he is the common heritage of the entire Muslim world." We must follow the path", he adds, "which Iqbal has shown us."[14]

In 1973, a famous scholar and a former President of Tehran University, Dr. Fazlullah Reza wrote a booklet entitled *Muhammad Iqbal*, in which he minutely analyzed Iqbal's philosophy and brought into focus the poet's love of originality and creativity. He described Iqbal not only as a poet of Islam, but also of the entire humanity and discovered new avenues of life in his virile and stimulating thought.

In 1975, another book *Surud-i-Iqbal* (Songs of Iqbal) was published by Fakhrud-Din Hijazi in Tehran which included a discussion on various facet of Iqbal's thought and reproduced a selection of his poetry in an elegant and illuminated form.

In 1977, the centenary celebrations of Iqbal's birth were observed in Tehran by the Ministry of Education by holding an international seminar. Simultaneously, the Ministry of Art and Culture brought out a special supplement of its prestigious journal *Hunar-o-Mardum* (Art And The People) which included a large number of scholarly articles on different aspects of Iqbal's thought and art. The University of Mashhad also published a special supplement of its quarterly research journal on the occasion. Even the Iran Cultural Centre in Lahore, an agency of the Government of Iran, brought out an attractive trilingal volume on Iqbal entitled *Yad Namah-i-Iqbal*, (Iqbal Memorial Volume) to which both Pakistani and Iranian

scholars had contributed thought-provoking articles on the poet in Persian, Urdu and English. The book was edited by Bahau'd-Din Aurang, the Director of the Centre.

Abdur Rafi' Haqiqat published a book named *Iqbal-i-Sharq* (Iqbal of the East) in 1978. It dealt mainly with Iqbal's life, and contained the author's views on the poet's works and the motives which inspired each one of these.

The renowned Iranian writer and Professor of Tehran University Muhammad Ali Islami Nadushan wrote a book on Iqbal entitled *Didan Digar Amuz Shanidan Digar Amuz* : *Barguzidah-i-Ash'ar-i-Muhammad Iqbal* (Acquire A New Vision And A New Ear—A Selection Of Muhammad Iqbal's Poetry) in 1978. This is essentially a book-wise selection of Iqbal's Persian poetry along with a short introduction of each work. The anthology is furnished with a prologue which consists of a discussion of the factors, which the author thinks, motivated the poet to select Persian as the medium of his poetic expression, a sketchy discussion of Iqbal's art and style, and a chapter on Iqbal's Ideal Man of the East.

The famous *Bunyad-i-Farhang-i-Iran* (Iran Cultural Foundation) published *Nava-i-Sha'ir-i-Farda Ya Asrar-i-Khudi Va Rumuz-i-Bikhudi* (The Vioce Of the Poet Of Tomorrow Or *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bikhudi*) by Muhammad Husain Mashavikh Faridani in 1979. The first book on the poet-philosopher published after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, it contains a number of facts about the poet's life, collected from various literary sources in Pakistan, where the author had served as his country's ambassador for a number of years. The biographical account is followed by a complete text of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* with a glossary and explanatory notes. The author, who has dealt with the entire subject with ardour and devotion, is an unquestioned supporter of Iqbal's views on all subjects. Briefly surveying the poet's introduction and rising popularity in Iran, he finally sums up: "Iqbal's poetry has conquered Iran, Every preacher, teacher, poet, writer, politician, mystic and singer has either heard Iqbal's poetry or remembers it by heart.

This poetry has inspired musical notes, beautified taxtbooks and illuminated the facade of magnificent buildings in Iran.[15]

Amongst Iqbal's admirers the author has mentioned some eminent scholars like Dr. Zabihullah Safa, Adibus-Saltaneh Sami'i, Dr. Ghulam Husain Yusufi, Dr. Ahmad Ali Rijai, Dr. Muqtadiri and others, He has also included a former Prime Minister, namely, Husain 'Ala, in this list.

Intisharat-i-Pugah, a publishing house in Tehran, produced a collection of Iqbal's Persian poetry in 1982 under the title *Kulliyat-i-Ash'ar-i-Farsi i-Maulana Muhammad Iqbal-i-Lahuri* (A Collection of the Persian Poetry of Maulana Muhammad Iqbal). It was accompanied with a biographical account of the poet and a glossary. The second print of a similar work entitled *Ash'ar-i-Farsi-i-Iqbal-i-Lahuri* (The Persian Poetry of Iqbal) including an introduction and foot notes by M. Darvish also came out of the press during the same year. Such reproduction of Iqbal's Persian works after their publication by Ahmad Surush is an ample proof of the mounting demand for Iqbal's works in Iran[15].

Apart from these original books or compilations and anthologies of Iqbal's Persian works by Iranian scholars, two books written by him in English were translated into Persian and published by the Regional Cooperation for Development (R.C.D.) in Tehran in 1968. Of these *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* was rendered into Persian by Ahmad Aram, while *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* was translated by A. H. Aryanpur.

The former has offered an opportunity to the Iranian reader to know Iqbal as a religious thinker and have a glimpse into the scientific form of religious knowledge and the reconstruction of "Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge."[16]

The second provides the Persian-speaking world with a unique

opportunity to study the first ever historical account of Iran's philosophical thought—both its idealism and realism.

The latest contribution to Iqbal studies in the form of translation comes from a woman scholar Dr. Shahindukht Kamran Muqaddam Safiari. She has translated the first volume of *Zinda Rud* (The Eteral River) by Dr. Javid Iqbal into Persian under the title *Javidan Iqbal* (The Eternal Iqbal) and published it with a fervent introduction in Iran in 1983. The original work produced in three volumes by the poet's son Dr. Justice Javid Iqbal is the most comprehensive and authentic biography on the poet-philosopher yet published. The translation was received warmly in Iran ; and Dr. Muqaddam Safiari is now occupied with the translation of the rest of the work.

Style

It is noteworthy that Iqbal's poetry has impressed the Iranian reader in spite of a strong tendency to judge Persian poetry in the light of certain set principles of art and rigid standards of technique, which have always made it extremely difficult for a foreign poet of Persian language to gain popularity or even receive acknowledgement in Iran. Broadly speaking, the Iranian literary critics classify Persian poetry into three schools of which the Indian style, *Sabk-i-Hindi*, is the least popular. Iqbal's popularity in Iran has been due not only to his sublime thought and his deep attachment to the glorious classical traditions of Persian poetry in general and Rumi in particular, but also to the fact that he did not follow the Indian style of Persian poetry.

As explained earlier Iqbal looks upon Rumi as his guide and mentor. Rumi not only influenced his thought but also his poetic style. The great Persian mystic poet had chosen the *mathnani* form for the dissemination of his profound thought. Iqbal selected the same form for imparting his philosophy of ego to the world through *Asrar-i-Khudi*. So deep was Rumi's spell on Iqbal that he maintained the same metre in the rest of his *mathnavis* except in *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* (The New Garden of Mysteries) *in Zabur-i-'Ajam*, which he wrote in reply to the famous *mathnavi*, *Gulshan-i-Raz*, composed

in 710/1311 by Mahmud Shabistari. This, for obvious reasons, follows the metre of the original poem.

In *ghazal* Iqbal mainly imbibed the best lyrical traditions of Hafiz. Highly crtical of the escapist tendencies in that great lyricist, Iqbal, however, could not help being captivated by the magical charm of Hafiz' style. Thus, he tried to reproduce in his lyric the same ethereal spirit, the same splendid music, the same glowing imagery and the same feeling of deep ecstacy. Similarly, in quatrain Iqbal set the famous Iranian poet Baba Tahir-i-Uryan, who lived in the 5th/11th century, as his model. If Iqbal reproduced the lyrical form of Hafiz with unprecedented success, he recaptured the soft beauty and delicate charm of Baba Tahir's quatrains as no poet had ever done before. He never associated himself with *Sabki-Hindi* as pointed out by the Iranian scholars Saeed Naficy and Husain Khatibi. This style, known for its subtlety and ingenuity at the hands of such masters as Urfi, (d. 999/1591), Naziri (d. 1021/1612), Talib-i-Amuli (d. 1036/1626), Kalim (d. 1061/1651), Saib (d. 1080/1669), Ghalib (d. 1285/1869) and many others, lost lustre in the works of lesser poets, who in their exuberant zeal for originality indulged in far-fetched conceits, quaint metaphors and abstruse expression which marred the spontaneous beauty of the lyric. These new experiments in vision and style eventually cost *Sabk-i-Hindi* its earlier popularity in Iran. It was totally discarded in the 13th/19th century as the result of a conscious and sustained opposition.

Creativeness

Over and above his attachment to the earlier styles, Iqbal deeply impressed the Iranian critic and scholar by his creative genius and superb originality, which led to new experiments and invested his poetry with a unique, individual character. It has evoked glowing tributes from eminent specialists like Malikush-Shu'ara Bahar and Husain Khatibi, both former professors of stylistics in the University of Tehran. Both agree that it would be more desirable to describe the style of Iqbal's poetry as *Sabk-i-Iqbal* (Iqbal's Style).[17] Bahar insists that Iqbal has not followed any school of

poetry ; his poetry reflects different styles and modes of expression, and ultimately assumes a refreshing, unique stamp.[18] Dr. Khatibi pays further homage to Iqbal in the following words :

> "It was Iqbal who lent a glow to the flickering light of Persian poetry in his country ; and not only brightened Pakistan with its eternal, heavenly light, but also brought radiance to Iran, the cradle of Persian language, with the sparkling rays of his verse."[19]

Language

There is no adverse criticism of Iqbal's language. Its peculiar character has been defended by a number of scholars. Prof. Mujtaba Minavi has defended it from a purely linguistic point of view and described the semantic variations of the Persian language employed by Iqbal as being completely in cosnonance with the basic principle of the linguistic science that a language is bound to change with change of time and place. The Iranian idiom, he says, has itself differed from one place to another. What was written in Qum or Tus during the Ghaznavid and Saljuq periods differed to a certain extent in idiom and vocabulary from what was written in Isfahan or Herat.[20] Prof. Suratgar has gone a step further. He finds in Iqbal a poet, who by employing Persian words and expressions in their classical sense, has reintroduced them to Iran in their pristine beauty and rehabilitated them in their ancient home. One of the great characteristics of Iqbal, says Suratgar, is to bring these old travellers back home after centuries of advantures abroad.[21] Husain Khatibi views Iqbal's language as exceedingly eloquent and totally unblemished ; and expresses suprise as to how this great poet, who never had an opportunity to meet the people of Iran, casts his philosophical and moral concepts into the mould of the "most eloquent Persian words" and "perfect compound epithets."[22] This is indeed an extraordinary tribute to the poet, coming as it does from one of the most renowned connoisseurs of Persian language and style in modern times.

Shari'ati's Tribute

The views of Dr. Ali Shari'ati on Iqbal deserve special study

on account of the deep impact of the philosopher-poet on this eminent Islamic revolutionary ideologue and a hero of the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Shari'ati was born in 1933 in a small village in Khurasan. After studying in Mashhad University he proceeded to France on a merit scholarship where he pursued higher studies in Paris University from 1958 to 1964 and obtained his doctorate in History of Religion and Sociology. Already associated with the liberal and progressive Islamic movement in Iran founded by his farther Taqi Shari'ati, Ayatullah Taliqani and others, and fiery and revolutionary in temperament, Ali Shari'ati actively involved himself in Paris not only in national but also international freedom movements. He was one of the prominent figures in the Iranian students resistance group against the Shah's opperessive regime. Again, as a measure of organized struggle, he started in collaboration with a group of Iranian freedom-fighters, a newspaper entitled *Iran-i-Azad* (The Free Iran) which soon won wide and ardent readership. Besides, he was active in the National Liberation Front fighting for the cause of Algerian independence and Palestinian revolution. When he returned to Iran in 1964 he was immediately put under arrest by the Shah's Government for his collaboration with dissident elements abroad. However, he was released after six months on certain conditions. In 1966, he joined his alma mater, that is, the University of Mashhad, as Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Literature and Humanities, which in his revered memory was named after him in June 1979, a few months after the Revolution, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and solemnity. At the University Shari'ati gained quick fame for his thought-provoking lectures on religion. But his daring, revolutionary approach towards religion, its tremendous impact and his growing popularity scared the Government and soon he was removed from service, which actually enhanced his status. In 1967, he played an important role in founding the religious centre *Husainiyyah-i-Irshad* in Tehran where his inspiring lectures began to draw hundreds of students. In 1973, it organized an Iqbal Congress to which reference has been made already. Shari'ati's lecture on Iqbal in the Congress made history. In the collection of papers presented in the Congress and later published by it, his lecture covered 90 out

of a total of 160 pages. In this lecture Shari'ati lauded Iqbal as one of the greatest thinkers ever produced by the world of Islam. Shari'ati's forceful, fearless and eloquent interpretation of Islam as a revolutionary religion put the Shah's Government on the alert and the Centre was closed down in September 1973. Apart from his lectures. many written works are associated with Shari'ati. All these captured the imagination of the Islamic ideologists, especially students. He was again arrested in November, 1974. thrown into solitary confinement and subjected to torture. In all propability, he would have been executed but for a strong intercession by Algeria. He was released in March 1975 on condition that he stopped preaching Islam as a revolutionary ideology. Constantly shadowed by Shah's Sawak, he managed to escape to England on 16 May 1977, but on the 19th June he was found dead on the floor of his London flat. His admirers have always held Sawak responsible for this heinous crime.

Shari'ati had a meteoric rise. During a few eventful years, he had created, activated and spurred a new revolutionary consciousness amongst his admirers and students who recall him as *Barathar-i-Shaheed* or the martyr brother. During the hectic days of Islamic Revolutionary movement his image had gained unprecedented popularity. Along with Ayatullah Khumeini his portraits dominated the massive demonstrations and processions. His writings flooded the market, and along with the tapes of his speeches, became a national craze.

Shari'ati had thoroughly imbibed Iqbal's influence and was devoted to him. He is the author of two books on the poet, namely, *Iqbal : Mi'mar-i-Tajdid-i-Bina-i-Tafakkur-i-Islami* (Iqbal The Architect Of The Reconstruction of Islam Thought) and *Ma Va Iqbal* (We And Iqbal). The former contains the author's comprehensive lecture delivered in the congress organized by *Husainiyyah-i-Irshad* in Tehran in 1349(s)/1970. The latter consists of two parts and is a long tribute to Iqbal. However, Sharia'ti regrets that he has not been able to do full justice to the great philosopher-poet. The author looks upon Iqbal as one of the most luminous paragons of intellect and humanism

which the rich Islamic culture has presented to human society.[23] For him Iqbal is an Islamic revolutionary-reformer and philosopher,[24] a symbol of Muslim renaissance in the great and glorious traditions of Sayyid Jamalud-Din,[25] a visionary as well as a practical realist. He is a blend of the Islamic mystical tradition and modern thought, a distinguished philosopher of world stature—in fact another Ghazali in Islamic history—an astute statesman, a warrior in the thick of the battle, a man with profound social, political and cultural vision and a comprehensive knowledge of Western philosophy, history and civilization on the one hand, and of Islamic sicences, thought and mysticism on the other.[26] Iqbal, he says, is a multi-diamensional, integrated, proud Muslim,[27] who in spite of being a product of Western universities did not succumb to Western thought, nor was he dazzled by its material glamour. On the contrary, he upheld Islamic principles in their pristine glory in the 20th century and returned to his fold, that is, "to us" as he fondly observes.[28] This, he emphasizes, is Iqbal's greatest triumph. He devoted his profound wisdom to the reformation of the *ummah* and aimed at re-collecting, re-shaping and re-vitalizing the decomposed skeleton of Islamic ideology and resurrecting its disintegrated limbs. He evolved his concept of *khudi* after an exhaustive study of Western philosophy on the one hand ; and a profound knowledge of Eastern, especially Islamic thought and mysticism, a constant and minute study of the Holy Quran and complete and total dedication to it on the other, This concept, he adds, is steeped in Islamic ethos and spirit.[29] As a part of his great mission, says Shari'ati, Iqbal upheld and strengthened the renaissance movement of Sayyid Jamalud-Din. This movement, according to Shari'ati, means the rediscovery of our original self and revival of our constructive, progressive, educative, cultural and intelluctual values.[30] Iqbal aimed at our self-realization and self-reconstruction. He invested the revolutionary challenge of Sayyid Jamalud-Din with ideological sustenance and provided deep intellectual roots to the sturdy tree planted by Sayyid. Shari'ati looks upan both these great men as the title of one chapter. The text of this chapter, he adds, is ourseleves—the *ummah* and its apprehensions and solutions. That is why to know the two is to

know Islam, to know the Muslims and to know their present and future. Iqbal, he says, is the symbol of the *ummah* ; represents its ambitions, dreams and thoughts, its problems and difficulties and shows the way to their soultion. Iqbal, he adds, is completely identical with Islam, as multi-diamensional as the spirit of Islam itself. For Shari'ati Iqbal's poetic excellence diminishes into insignificance before the supreme importance of his reformist-revolutionary philosophy of life . To admire Iqbal as a poet of Persian language, he says, is like introducing Martin Luther to Christendom as "a handsome man with good calligraphic skill."[31]

Impact on Revolution

Shari'ati remains to be one of the great devotees of Iqbal and his influence on the formation of Shari'ati's concept of revolutionary ideology cannot be overestimated. Keeping in view Shari'ati's dominant role as a symbol of revolutionary consciousness in Iran it is not difficult to appreciate the profound impact that Iqbal's philosophy has indirecty exercised on the course of the Iranian Revolution. After the Revolution his name has sprung into exceptional prominence. He is frequently mentioned in mystical literature and quoted in books on the subjects of Islamic nationalism and Muslim unity and fraternity as a guide-philosopher and a popular and unquestioned source of inspiration.

About sixty years ago the poet had cherished to infuse life into Iran in the following word :

عجم رسیده بو را نفسم بہار بادا

May my breath usher spring
In the deserted 'Ajam
Ravished of its scented glory !

Today this ardent desire is on way to realization.

———

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

1—Mission

در دیدۀ معنی نگہان حضرت اقبال
پیغمبری کرد پیمبر نتوان گفت

1· Shaikh Ghulam Qadir Girami, *Kulliyat-Girami*, ed. Abdul Latif, Lahore, 1976, p. 159.

2. Nicholson, Reynold A., *The Secrets Of The Self*, London, 1920.

3. *Bang-i-Dara*, Lahore, 14th ed.. (1952) p. 43.

4. *Ibid.* p. 53

5. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-73.

7. *Ibld.*, pp. 140-41.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

9. *Ibid.* pp. 177-187.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-232.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-216.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

14. Op. cit., ed. Javid Iqbal, Lahore, 1961.

15. *Iqbal Namah*, ed. Shaikh Ataullah, Lahore, 1951 vol. ii, p. 314.

16. Nicholson, Reynold A., *op. cit.*, p. x.

17. *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, Lahore, 3rd ed. (1948) p. 4.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

19. *Bang-i-Dara*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

20. *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

21. *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, Lahore, 4th ed. (1948) p. 12.

22. *Bal-i-Jibril*, Lahore, 7th ed. (1947) p. 8.

23. *Javid Namah*, Lahore, 2nd ed. (1947) p. 4.
24. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 18.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
28. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 27.
29. Begum Atiya, *Iqbal*, Lahore, 3rd print (1977) p. 56.
30. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ai Aqvam-i-Sharq* (*Ma' Musafir*) Lahore, 3rd ed. (1947) p. 5.
31. *Ibid.*, (*Musafir*) p. 43.
32. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 194.
33. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 13.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
35. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 5.
36. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 93.
37. *Javid Namah, op, cit.*, p. 230.
38. *Zabur-i-'Ajam. op. cit.*, p. 187.
39. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Lahore, 7th ed. (1948), p. 81.
40. *Ibid.*. p. 168.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
42. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
48. *Zabur-i-'Ajam. op. cit.*, p. 99.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

51. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 167.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

54. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 87.

55. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, op. cit.*, p. 71.

56. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op., cit.*, p. 5.

57. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 143.

58. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*, Lahore, n. d., p. 199.

59. *The Secrets Of The Self, op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

60. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op, cit.*, p. 77.

61. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 5.

62. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 79.

63. *Armaghan.i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 195.

64. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 195.

65. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 3.

66. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol, i. pp. 195-96.

67. *Armaghan-i.Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 78.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

2—Khudi

1. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

5. *Stray Reflections—A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal*, ed. Javid Iqbal, Lahore, 1961.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

9. *Ibid.*, p, 93.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

11. *Ibid.*. p. 17.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

13. *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

14. *Payam-i-Mashariq*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

15. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*. *op. cit.*, p. 174.

16. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

17. *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

21. Arberry, A. J., *Sufism*, London, 1950, p. 101.

22. Syed Abdul Vahid, *Iqbal : His Art And Thought*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1948, p. 21.

23. Abdul Majid Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1955, p. 46.

24. *Makatib-i-Iqbal Bi Nam-i-Khan Muhammad Niazud-Din Khan*, Lahore, 1954, p. 1.

25. *Iqbal Namah*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

27. *Makatibi-i-Iqbal*, *op. cit.*. p. 2.

28. *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, *op. cit.*, pp. . 46.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

30. *Ibid.*, pp· 48-52.

31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-51., *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-27.

32. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

33. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, Lahore, 7th ed. (1947) p. 57.

34. *Pvyam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, 18.
35. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*
36. *Maktab-i-Shams*, ed. Inju-i-Shirazi, Tehran, A. H. (solar) 1337, p. 59.
37. *The Development ∫ Metaphysics in Persia*, Lahore, 1964, pp. 128-31.
38. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 457-58.
39. *Ibid.*. vol. ii, pp. 59-60.
40. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op., cit.*, p. 100.
41. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 230.
42. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 106.

3—Love And Reason

1. *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter xv, p. 126.
2. *Kulliyat-i-Shams Ya Divan-i-Kabir*, ed. Badi'u'z-Zaman Furuzanfar, Tehran, 1338, A.H. (s) vol. iii. p. 177.
3. *The Secrets Of the Self, op. cit.*, p. xxv.
4. *Payam-i-Mashirq, op. cit.*, p. 182.
5. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 252.
6. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, Nicholson, ed., Tehran, 1314 A. H. (s) vol. i, p. 4, line 23.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
8. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 156.
9. *Asrar-i-Khudi, op. cit.*, p. 23.
10. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 180.
11. Sanai, *Divan*, ed. Mudarris Razavi, Tehran, 1341 A. H. (s) p. 55.
12. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 77.

13. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 119,
14. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 179.
15. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 125.
16. *Payam-i-Mashirq, op. cit.*, p. 119.
17. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam*, Lahore, reprint, May, 1971, p. 3.
18. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 45.
19. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 36.
20. *Bal-i-Jibril, op., cit.*, p. 29.
21. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 82.
22. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 247.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
24. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 31.
25. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 112.

4—Muslim Fraternity

1. *Asrar-o-Rumz, op. cit.*, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
6. *Zikr-i-Iqbal, op. cit.*, p. 59.
7. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 68.
8. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 132.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
11. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 174.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
13. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 52.
14. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 34.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
16. *Asrar-o-Rumuz. op. cit.*, p. 131.
17. *Iqbal Nama, op. cit.*, p. 469.
18. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, p. 157.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
21. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 72.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
24. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ma' Musafir, op. cit.*, p. 54.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55.
28. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 114.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
30. *Ibib.*, p. 119.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
32. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, pp, 203-4.
33. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 149.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
35. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, pp. 176-77.
36. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 171.
37. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, op. cit, p. 10.
38. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 208.

39. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, op. cit.*, p. 6.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

44. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 210.

45. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, pp. 117-18.

46. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, p. 370.

47. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.

48. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 139.

49. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, p. 14.

50. See p. 58.

51. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 237.

52. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 86.

53. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 169.

54. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 83.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

5—The West

1. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 47.

2. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 238,

3. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

5. *The Reconstruction OF Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, p. 5.

6. *Stray Reflections, op. cit.*, p. 11.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
8. *The Reconstruction OF Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, pp. 39, 46-48,141.
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 236.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 218.
12. *Payam-i-Mashriq. op. cit.*, p. 239.
13. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. ٥.
14. *Stray Reflections, op. cit.*, p. 2.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
17. *Ibid*, p. 54.
18. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 283.
19. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, p. 21.
20. *The* Reconstruction *Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, p. 5.
21. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 69.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
23. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 65.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
25. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, p. 179.
26. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 10.
27. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 92.
28. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 83.
29. *Javid Namah. op. cit.*, p. 57.
30. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op, cit.*, p. 38.
31. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 150.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225-33.
34. *Zabur i-'Ajam, op. cit.* pp. 116-18.
35. *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
36. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 233.
37. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, op. cit.*, p. 59.
38. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 182.
39. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
41. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 296.
42. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 218.
43. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 62.
44. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 150.
45. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, p. 179.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
47. *The New Era*, Lucknow, 1916, p. 251.
48. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 236.
49. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*
50. Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1977, p. 254.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
52. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*, op. cit., p. 252.
53. *Bal-i-Jibril, op, cit.*, p. 113.
54. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 150.
55. *Javid Namah, op, cit.*, p. 209.
56. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, pp. 230-32.
57. *Musafir (Pas Chih Bayad Kard) op. cit.*, p. 16.
58. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 176.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

60. *Javid Namah, op. cit*. p. 71.

61. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit*., p. 169.

62. *Zarbi-i-Kalim, op. cit*., p. 141.

63. *Ibid*., p. 163.

6—Iqbal And Rumi

1. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit*., p. 121.
2. Nicholson, Reynold A. *The Mathnawi Of Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, vol. vi. London, 1934, Introduction, p. xiii.
3. *The Development Of Metaphysics in Persia, op. cit*., pp. 82-83.
4. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. i, op. cit., p. 4, lines 23-23.
5. *The Development Of Metaphysics In Persia, op. cit*., p. 89.
6. *Stray Reflections*, op. cit., p. 55.
7. *Op. cit*., p. 199 ; *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. iii, *op. cit*., 1315, A. H. (s) p. 569, line 3850.
8. *Op. cit*., p. 7.
9. *Ibid*., p. 122.
10. *Ibid*., pp. 242-3.
11. *Ibid*., pp. 246-7.
12. Op. *cit*., p. 244.
13. *Op. cit*., p. 200.
14. *Op. cit*., p. 120.
15. *Op. cit*., p. 30.
16. *Op. cit*., p. 5.
17. *Op. cit*., p. 106.
18. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit*., vol. i, pp. 27-28.
19. Nicholson. R. A., *Rumi—Poet And Mystic*, London, 1956, pp. 25-26.

20. *Kulliyat-i-Shams Ya Divan-i-Kabir*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 142.

21. *Fihi Ma Fihi*, ed. Badi'u'z-Zaman Furuzanfar Tehran, 1330 A. H. (s) p. 289.

22. *Maktab-i-Shams*, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

23. *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, op. cit., p. 165.

24. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. ii. *op. cit.*, p. 263, lines 1358-61.

25. *Ibid.*, vol. iv, 1315 A. H. (s) p. 626, lines 95, 101.

26. *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

27. Badi'u'z-Zaman Furuzanfar, *Zindigani-i-Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad*, Tehran, 2nd reprint, p. 146, n. 2.

28. *Javid Namah*, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

29. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. vi, *op. cit.*, 1317, A. H. (s) p. 1079, line 494.

30. *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

31. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. i,op. cit., p. 93, line 1864.

32. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

34. *Bal-i-Jibril*, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

35. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thougt In Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

36. *Javid Namah*, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

37. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

38. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

40. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

41. *Kulliyat-i-Shams Ya Divan-i-Kabir*, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

42. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi*, vol. iii, *op. cit.*, p. 574, lines 3948-50, 52.

43. *Bal-i-Jibril*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

44. *Zabur-i-'Ajam op. cit.*, p. 164.

45. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 218.

46. *Maktab-i-Shams, op. cit.*, p. 72.

47. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 198.

48. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 90.

49. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

50. *Kulliyat-i-Shams Ya Divan-i-Kabir, op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 120.

51. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 34.

52. *Maktab-i-Shams, op. cit.*, p. 273.

53. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 143.

54. *Mathnavi-i-Ma'navi.* vol. i, *op. cit.*, p. 3, line 6.

55. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 199.

7—Iqbal And Sanai

1. *Maktab-i-Shams, op. cit.*, p. 275.

2. *Zindigani-Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad, op. cit.*, p. 107.

3. *Divan-i-Khaqani Shirvani*, ed. Muhammad Abbasi, Tehran, 1336 A. H. (s), p. 804.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

5. Sanai, *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 51.

6. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 37.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

10. Sanai, *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqat*, Lucknow, Naval Kishore, 1887, pp. 30-31.

11. *Divan*, op. cit., p. 201.

12. *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqat, op. cit.*, p. 44.

13. *Divan op. cit.*, p. 55.

14. *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqat*, ed. and tr. Major Stephensen, J., Calcutta, 1911, p. 85.

15. See p. 46.

16. *Divan, op. cit.*. p. 93.

17. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 194.

18. See p. 48.

19. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 776.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

21. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 142.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

23. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 29.

24. *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

25. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 485.

26. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 103.

27. *Divan, op. cit.*, pp. 577-79.

28. *Op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

29. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 677.

30. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 165.

31. *Divan, op. cit.*, pp. 675, 677.

32. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, pp. 217-18.

33. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, op. cit.*, p. 40.

34. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 52.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 708.

36. *Divan-i-Qasaid-o-Ghazaliyyat-i-Faridu'd-Din 'Attar*, ed. Saeed Naficy, Tehran, 1339 A. H. (s), p. 224.

37. *Musafir, op. cit.*, p. 21.

38. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

39. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 50.

40. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 1016.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 888-90.

42. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 43.

43. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 148.

44. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 54.

45. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 38.

46. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 915.

47. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 41.

48. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 54.

49. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 40.

50. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 792.

51. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 72.

52. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 8.

53. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz, op. cit.*, p. 109.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

8—Iqbal And Hafiz

1. *Divan-i-Hafiz*, ed. Muhammad Qazvini and Qasim Ghani, Tehran, 1320/1941, p. 298.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

5. *Ibid.*. p. 103.

6. *Ibid.*, p. ق

7. *Ibid.*, p. قا

8. *Nafahatu'l-Uns*, Calcutta ed. 1858, p. 715.

9. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. I5.

14. *Ibid* , p. 19.

15. *Stray Reflections, op, cit.*, p. 152.

16. Originally the couplet reads as :

صبا به مولد حافظ سلام ما برسان
که چشم نکته وران خاک آن دیار افروخت

O zephyr ! convey our greetings to the birthplace of Hafiz,

For that land enlivened the eyes of men of wisdom.

Later, the word, *Maulid-i-Hafiz*, was changed into *Gulshan-i-Weimar.*

Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit., p. 184.

17. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 196.

18. بده ساقی مئی باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت
کنار آب رکنا باد و گلگشت مصلارا

Give me the remaining wine o Saqi !

For in the paradise you will miss the bank of Ruknabad and the stroll in Musalla.

Divan, op. cit., p. 11.

19. *Iqbal Namah*, Maktaba-i-Danish, Tehran, A. H. (s). 1329 p. 27.

20. *Divan, op. cit.*, p. 137,

21. *Ibid.*, g. 191.

22. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 43.

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

24. *Mathnavi-Ma'navi, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 9, line 136.

25. *Divan-i-Ghalib*, ed. Hamid Ali Khan, Lahore, 1969, p. 48.

9—Concept Of Art

1. *The New Era*, op. cit., p. 251.

2. *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai*, Lahore, 1928, Foreword.

3. Allock, Richard A., *World Literature Made Simple*, New York, Fifth Printing, 1959, p. 148.

4. *The Writings Of Oscar Wilde*, "The Critic As Artist", New York, 1931, vol. v, p. 21.

5. *Zarb-i-Kalim op. cit.*, p. 112.

6. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 39.

7. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, op. cit., p. 127.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

9. *Op. c:t..* p. 81.

10. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, pp. 251-57.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-64.

12. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 128.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

16. *Zikr-i-Iqbal, op. cit.*, p. 252.

17. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit..* p. 126-36.

18. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 103.

19. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 263.
20. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 115.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
22. *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai, op. cit.*, Foreword.
23. *Asrar-o-Rumuz. op. cit.*, p. 37.
24. *Op. cit.*, Foreword.
25. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 117.
26. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 153.
27. *Payam-i-Mashriq op. cit.*, p. 148.
28. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 101.
29. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 129.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
31. *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai, op. cit.*, Foreword.
32. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 113.
33. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 253.
34. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 122.
35. *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai, op. cit.*, Foreword.
36. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 132.

Note : The word *khiaban* in Iran means an avenue, road or street. In the Subcontinent, however, it stands for a flower-bed ; and Iqbal has always used this word in the latter sense.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
38. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 46.
39. *Muraqqa'-i-Chughtai, op. cit.*, Foreword.
40. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 104,
41. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 164.

10—Nature

1. *Ban-i-Dara, op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
3. *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, clxxviii.
4. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 6.
5. *Ibib.*, p. 35.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
7. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 149.
8. Intimations Of Immortality From Recollections Of Early Childhood, Stanza ii.
9. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 44.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
11. *Ibid.*, p, 77.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
15. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 112.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
19. *Bal-i-Jibril., op. cit.*, p. 164.
20. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 83.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
23. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 114.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
25. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, pp. 166-74.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-56.

27. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 102.

28. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 110.

29. *Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit.*, p. 182.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 97.

32. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 178.

33. See p. 170.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

11—Symbolism

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 190.
2. *Mathnavi-i Ma'navi, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 9.
3. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 196.
4. *Iqbal Namah, op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 204-5.
5. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, pp. 117-19.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
7. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 224.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
9. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. I63.
10. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 142.
11. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 131.
12. *Payam-i-Mashriq,op.cit,*, p. 121.
13. *Bal-i-Jibril, op. cit.*, p. 164.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
16. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 315.

17. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 126.
18. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 191.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
20. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 136,
21. *Asrar-o-Rumuz, op. cit.*, p. 9.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
24. *Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit.*, p. 109.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-15.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
28. *Zabur-i-'Ajam, op. cit.*, p. 91.
29. *Payam-i-Mashriq, ap. cit.*, p. 174.
30. *Javid Namah, op. cit.*, p. 239.
31. *Bang-i-Dara, op. cit.*, p. 131.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

12—Iqbal's Growing Image In Iran

1. Muhit Tabatabai, *Muhit*, Tehran, *Urdibihisht*, 1329, A. H. (s).
2. *Op. cit.*, Maktaba-i-Danish, Tehran, 1330 (s) p. 74.
3. Abdush Shakoor Ahsan, *Iqbal Ki Farsi Sha'iri Ka Tanqidi Ja'iza*, Lahore, 1977, p. 558.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
5. *Op. cit. p.*, p. 6.
6. عصر حاضر خاصهٔ اقبال گشت
   واحدی کز صد هزاران برگذشت

The present age has become the age of Iqbal,
The one who has surpassed a hundred thousand (poets).

7. *Iqbal Nameh, op. cit.*, p. 9.

8. The ode opens with the following line:

به ملازمان سلطان که دهد خبر ز رازی
که جهان توان گرفتن به نوای دلگدازی

Who will convey the secret to the King's Court,
That the world can be conquered with a heart-moving note !

Payam-i-Mashriq, op. cit., p. 176.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

10. Khwaja Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Iqbal Iranion Ki Nazar Mein*, Karachi, 1957, pp. 353-56.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. یا

12. *Op. cit.*, p. یک

13. Iqbal: *Mi'mar-i-Tajdid-i-Bina-i-Tafakkur-i-Islami*, Tehran, n. d. p. 16.

14. Tahira Siddiqui, "Marasimi-i-Tajlil As Allamah Iqbal Dar Danishgah-i-Tehran", quarterly *Hilal*, Karachi, 1970, p. 25.

15. *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xi.

16. *The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, op. cit.*, Preface, pp. v-vi.

17. *Iqbal Iranion Ki Nazar Mein*, pp. 14, 134.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

20. Mujtaba Minavi, *Iqbal-i-Lahuri, Sha'ir-i-Parsigu-i-Pakistan*, Tehran, 1327 (s) p. 6.
21. *Iqbal Nameh*. p. 27.
22. *Iqbal Iranion Ki Nazar Mein*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
23. *Ma Va Iqbal*, Tehran, n. d. p. 5.
24. *Iqbal : Mi'mar-i-Tajdid...*, p. 88.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-22.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
32. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *op. cit.*, p. 215

INDEX

CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*Read*
1	13	Reynold
11	22	aglow
15	13	gardener
31	4	today
34	23	Nietzsche
90	3	dazzled
94	8	ترى
99	11	moves
107	15	peace
132	9	command of the beautiful
145	21	point
152	last	and rhyming
153	10	stressed the
154	22	watchword
156	7	a sense
158	11	Baudelaire
162	17	resist nature
216	10	of the

SOME PUBLICATIONS OF THE

RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

1.	Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam, edited by Dr. M. Rafique Afzal. (De luxe edition)	Rs. 74 00
2.	Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah : Speeches in the Legislative Assembly of India (1924-30) edited by Dr. M. Rafique Afzal ...	Rs. 65.00
3.	Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad (1927-30) ...	Rs. 10.00
4.	Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad ..	Rs. 16.00
5.	Economic and Social Thinking of the Quaid-i-Azam by Pervez Tahir	Rs. 50.00
6.	Speeches of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah edited by Salahuddin Khan	Rs. 60 00
7.	Speeches and Statements of Liaquat Ali Khan (1941-51) edited by Dr. M. Rafique Afzal	Rs. 60.00
8.	The Emergence of Pakistan (Deluxe edition) by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali ...	Rs. 68.00
9.	Speeches af Chaudhri Muhammad Ali (1952-58) edited by Salahuddin Khan ...	Rs. 40.00
10.	The Task Before Us by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, edited by Salahuddin Khan	Rs. 60.00
11.	Pakistan-A Study of Its Constitutional History (1857-1975) by Justice (Retd.) Masud Ahmad ...	Rs. 50.00
12.	Anglo-Pakistan Relations (1947-1976) by Dr. M. Aslam Qureshi	Rs. 60.00
13.	Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement by Sarfraz Hussain Mirza	Rs. 20 00
14.	The Punjab Muslim Students Federation (1937-47) by Sarfraz Hussain Mirza	Rs. 90.00
15.	History of the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent (1707-1806) Vol. I by Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid	Rs. 60.00
16.	A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab (1799-1947) edited by Ikram Ali Malik ...	Rs. 100.00
17.	A Bibliography of the Punjab and its Dependencies (1849-1951) by Ikram Ali Malik ...	Rs. 25.00
18.	Development of Local Self-Government in the Punjab (1882-1900) by Muhammad Shahid Iqbal edited by Dr. M Aslam Qureshi	Rs. 16.00
19.	Development of Local Self-Government in the Punjab (1919-1932) by Muhammad Aslam Khan Magsi	Rs. 15.00
20.	Extracts from the District & States Gazetteers of the Punjab (Pakistan) Vols. I and II	Rs. 65.00 each
21-22	Extracts from the District & States Gazetteers of the Punjab (India) Vols. III and IV	Rs. 75.00 each
23.	Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain, edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad	Rs. 75.00
24.	Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Husain by Dr. Waheed Ahmad	Rs. 55.00
25.	Circumstances Leading to the First Afghan War by Dr. Afzal Iqbal	Rs. 15.00
26.	Malik Barkat Ali, His life and Writings by Dr. M. Rafique Afzal	Rs. 30.00
27.	Chief Justice Muhammad Munir (His Life, Writings and Judgments) by Nazir Hussain Chaudhri	Rs. 40.00